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ABSTRACT

The Programme on Educational Building (PEB) has sponsored the analysis of projects in various countries that associate school buildings with community facilities. The texts brought together in this volume concern the United States. A paper prepared by the Office of Education provides information on the historical and administrative background of the American programs on community education. Part 1 of the report deals mainly with single projects in which school and community facilities have been coordinated and, within this range, with two extreme solutions: the large purpose-built center and the opposite recent trend towards utilizing empty schools. The examples presented of the large facilities are the Human Resources Center in Pontiac, Michigan; the Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center in Arlington, Virginia; and Paul Laurence Dunbar High School and Community Center in Baltimore, Maryland. Part 2 reports on the neighborhood and citywide models, particularly the SAND project and the Everywhere School in Hartford, Connecticut, and the community school concept including various models and programs in Ann Arbor, Michigan. The last text, "User Participation in Planning and Design," is based on the concepts and method developed in a number of coordinated facility projects. (Author/MLF)

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BUILDING FOR SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

III

UNITED STATES

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PREFACE

In recent years a number of industrialised countries have developed projects which in one way or another associate school buildings with community facilities designed for different functions or uses. Thus, school and non-school activities are accommodated within the same physical setting, implying relations of inter-dependence between the agencies and institutions responsible for the various activities. The countries participating in the Programme on Educational Building (PEB) decided therefore that the scope and significance of these experiences, which seem far more important than might be inferred from their limited number, called for closer analysis and clarification.

The PEB study on Co-ordination of School and Community Facilities consequently began by examining the why's and how's of projects which aim not only at meeting the educational needs of a community but also at creating a framework within which the overall social needs of the community can be taken into account. A certain number of concrete examples of co-ordinated facilities projects, drawn from various countries, were examined and most of these have been the subject of detailed case studies which are published in four separate volumes, each devoted to a given country (England/Australia, France, Sweden and the United States).

In addition, these individual studies have served as a basis for a further analysis which aimed at identifying common problems likely to be of interest to those concerned in Member countries, and at proposing strategies for action. This second phase of the study led to the preparation of a Synthesis based on the findings of the case studies and to the organisation of a Symposium on School and Community Building in Relation to Urban Dynamics held at Skokloster, Sweden, from 27th September to 1st October, 1976. The report on the latter is published together with the Synthesis in a separate volume under the title, Building for School and Community: I. Policies and Strategies.

The texts brought together in the present volume concern the United States. The principal text has been prepared, with the help of the Secretariat, by Mrs. Margrit Kennedy, consultant architect; it is not

strictly speaking a case study report. In the United States decentralisation of decision-making and the extensive autonomy enjoyed by local education authorities result in a wide range of projects and practices. To reflect this diversity and the rapid rate of change in this country the several cases examined are presented - under the title"From Individual Projects Towards City-Wide Networks"- in ways which emphasize their contrast. The study therefore deals not only with the large and well-known complexes, characteristic of the end of the 60s and the beginning of the 70s - presented in the form of a comparative evaluation of their current situation - but also includes an analysis of new trends: reuse of empty schools for community purposes; co-ordination of dispersed facilities; situations originating from different development models - on the one hand organic or spontaneous growth and, on the other, the planning or interventionist approach; projects where the scales for the co-ordination of educational resources are different - big cities or small neighbourhoods. Preceding this text is a paper prepared by Julie Englund and Paul Tremper of the Office of Education, in which information is provided to enable readers to understand the historical and administrative background against which the American programmes on Community Education were developed. Finally, the last text,"User Participation in Planning and Design", was prepared by David Lewis, an American architect and urban planner, based on the concepts and method he developed in a number of co-ordinated facility projects for which he was responsible.

The views expressed in these reports are those of the authors and do not commit the OECD or the national authorities concerned, with the exception of the section on"The Development of Community Education", which was prepared by the U.S. Office of Education.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION

by
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INTRODUCTION

1. Change and the development of new ideas have characterized American education, especially in recent years. Almost every aspect of the educational system and of the philosophy of American education has been examined and continues to be reexamined, including such basic elements as general goals (skill development or the accumulation of knowledge), the age of students (5-18 or all ages), and relationships between the school and community.

2. Community education has emerged as a movement encompassing many of these developments and changes. It is expanding and evolving rapidly today. This paper will describe its history, its many different aspects, and the ways in which the United States Government is contributing to its expansion.

3. Community education means many different things to the different people and groups involved in it. It is generally agreed that community education means the increased involvement of children, adults, and senior citizens in activities in the school and community; increased use of school facilities by the community; increased use of community resources; increased cooperation and coordination between public and private agencies and organizations, working together to provide a variety of services to the community; and increased participation of community members in a formal advisory role to the schools. More generally, community education is a way to meet local needs - educational, social, health-related, recreational and cultural - through the comprehensive development of local resources.

4. Those goals, however, are only a part of community education as it is now understood. The other major aspect is the development of a process of community governance. As articulated by Jack Minzey and Clyde LeTarte:

> "The ultimate goal of community education is to develop a process by which members of the community learn to work together to identify problems and to seek out solutions to these problems. It is through

this process that an on-going procedure is established for working together on all community issues."(1)

5. The development of specific educational, cultural, recreational or other programs is not ignored in this approach, but is secondary to the development of this new community-school relationship and a new attitude on the part of school officials as to the school's responsibility within the community. Increased use of school facilities, for instance, might contribute to these goals, but it would not necessarily be of primary importance in this approach.

6. The community education concept, then, is changing quickly. What follows are brief outlines of the history of the trends in American education as they relate to community education, a brief history of the development of community education in the United States and a description of the role of the U.S. Office of Education today. The changes which are occurring have their roots in this history and in the unique problems confronting American education today.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

7. In American educational history, schools have been used for many different activities. As the western half of the United States was being settled, schools served as sites for church services, town meetings, courts, and many other purposes. Often the school was the only public building in a town. During the period of economic depression of the 1930's, schools housed communal food preserving activities, programs of hot meals for the poor and vocational retraining programs for adults.

8. During both World Wars, volunteers packed bandages and made clothes for soldiers in the schools. Schools also served as collection points for recycling materials needed in the war effort. During the Cold War period of the 1950's, many schools served as emergency fallout shelters and housed food and medical supplies. Schools have been continually used as emergency hospitals, refugee centers, and communications centers during periods of natural disaster.

9. Most of these uses of the schools were and are considered separate from and outside of what is considered the schools' only function by most people - teaching the young. While the use of school facilities by many

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1) J. Minzey and C. LeTarte, "Community Education: From Program to Process", Community Education Research Monograph, vol. 1, N° 3, p.3, Pendell Publishing Co., Midland, Michigan, 1972.

different groups within the community has a long history, the separation between those activities and the regular school program has been great. Community education is both building on elements of American educational history and developing significant new patterns.

10. The many different uses of the schools were and are determined by the State and local governments. Their authority in this area is protected by the Tenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, which is commonly called the "reserve powers clause". This Amendment guarantees that powers which are not specifically given to the Federal Government belong to each State. Since education is not specifically noted as a national function, each State has the responsibility for determining educational policies within its borders. Different States choose to exercise their responsibilities in different ways in responding to the educational needs of their children and youth.

11. Each State has a State Board of Education which is either elected directly by the people of that State or appointed by the Governor. They are empowered to formulate policies relating to such educational affairs as allocation of school funds, certification of teachers, textbooks and library services, provisions for records and educational statistics and overall coordination of the State school system.

12. Each State (except Hawaii) has provided for the establishment of local administrative districts, and vested them with extensive authority and responsibility for establishing and regulating the schools in their districts. Each local school district has a board of education, usually made up of five to seven members who have been appointed by higher officials or elected by citizens of the school district. Within the limits of State policy, the board operates the local school system through the school superintendent and his or her staff.

13. Monitoring the local school districts and developing curriculum guidelines and other educational policy is the responsibility of each of the State education departments. The staff of the State department of education is composed of supervisory, professional and administrative personnel appointed by the State superintendent or the board. Among other activities, the State professional personnel of elementary, secondary, and specialized fields of education normally work in one way or another with local school officials to provide consultative and other services. Data

for 1974-75 reveal that revenue from Federal sources provides nine per cent of the total cost for public elementary and secondary education, and State funding provides 52.2 per cent.(1)

14. A further partial subdivision of responsibilities within school districts has occurred in some of the country's large cities in recent years. Local parent groups within the sub-districts now exercise some policy-making and administrative powers and responsibilities within guidelines developed by the city's school board. This allows for greater flexibility in developing programs designed to meet the more specific needs of each local neighborhood or district area within a large metropolitan community. In cities where different ethnic groups live predominately in separate areas, this is particularly important.

15. The decentralized control of American education is clearly observed by the variations in per pupil spending within States and between States. From State to State the average expenditures per pupil varied by $1,000 according to 1973-1974 estimates. This is the result of differences between States in taxable wealth and tax rate on one hand and local and/or State priorities on the other hand.

16. The Federal role in education and the responsibilities of the U.S. Office of Education have expanded rapidly in recent years. The Office of Education was created by an Act of Congress on March 2, 1867. Its initial mandate was "to collect statistics and facts showing the condition and progress of education in the several States and Territories, and to diffuse such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school systems, and methods of teaching, as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country."

17. Around the time of World War I Federal funds were made available to the States to improve vocational education and homemaking through the development of new programs, but this assistance remained on a very small scale. The 1950's saw new responsibilities being gradually added to the Office of Education. The launching of Sputnik in 1957 accelerated the Federal role in education and financial assistance to certain specified fields became a national priority. A nationwide discussion began which focused on the quality of mathematics and science education and the

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1) Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, Revenue and Expenditures for Public Elementary and Secondary Education, 1974-1975, (in press).

Congress passed the National Defense Education Act to contribute funds to strengthen mathematics and science programs as well as foreign languages and guidance and counseling programs across the country.

18. This effort was still on a modest scale compared to the substantial Federal role which began in the mid-1960's and continues to the present. In 1965, the Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which inaugurated the large-scale flow of Federal funds to the public schools on an annual basis. This law was designed to assist State and local education agencies in areas that were considered to be of high national priority in improving educational opportunity. A series of amendments have been added to the original Act which greatly increase the scope of its coverage and the amount of funds provided. Areas of support under this authority now include education of the disadvantaged, programs to enhance learning resources and educational innovation, and bilingual education.

19. Also in 1965, the Congress passed the Higher Education Act which has substantially augmented the Federal role in postsecondary education, particularly with regard to financial aid to students. Various other Acts since 1965 have provided Federal support for environmental education, Indian education, drug abuse education and adult education and also support for desegregation (in the form of the Emergency School Aid Act). Among the post-1965 Acts are the Special Projects Act and a group of separately authorized programs related to that Act which were passed in 1974. One of these is the Community Schools Act, which provides support for community education activities and training carried out by State and local education agencies and institutions of higher education.

20. Besides the public schools, there are in the United States private schools, the largest single category being church related schools. Most of their expenses are raised by charging tuition, collecting donations from alumni and receiving funds from the institutions to which they are related. The Federal government does provide funding for certain services to students in private schools who are eligible for specific programs. For example, Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act provides for the loan of teachers, material and equipment as supplemental educational aid to the disadvantaged and handicapped students in non-public schools.

21. Also playing a large role in American education today are the many associations, interest groups and teacher organizations which are involved in all levels of legislation and policy development. Some of these groups are very large with broad interests such as the National Education

Association; others are more specialized such as the American Vocational Association. But all study policy options, provide information and analyses to Congress and their members, and attempt to develop support for the proposals they seek.

22. Private foundations must also be recognized. Although they provide only a small amount of funds, through concentrated support of specific projects or work in specific areas, their impact has been and continues to be substantial in areas where they have concentrated their support. They have been particularly active in supporting educational innovations and research.

THE HISTORY OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION

23. Community education as a well-defined concept and formal movement is a recent phenomenon on the American education scene. Its roots, however, extend back to the very beginning of American educational programs. As described in the last section, in earlier days many community activities took place in the schools. They were central gathering places for local citizens. They were the center of many communities' academic, social, cultural and recreational life. But as the society became more industrial and urbanized and institutions became more specialized, the school found itself more isolated from the community it served. Although schools were used occasionally for community use such as adult education programs in large cities which began in the 1880's, the trend of closing the schools at the end of the school day continued.

24. It was not until the late 1920's and early 1930's that the development of what is now called community education began. Frank J. Manley arrived in Flint, Michigan in 1927 as the director of physical education. He was very concerned about the rate of juvenile delinquency in the city and sought to reduce it through recreation programs. In 1935 he met Charles Stewart Mott, the founder and president of the Mott Foundation. Shortly thereafter, the Mott foundation gave the Flint School Board funds to open five school sites to provide recreational opportunities in different parts of the city.

25. The first staff, hired on a part-time basis, quickly realized that recreation programs alone did not significantly reduce juvenile delinquency rates and that the youth's home background would have to be dealt with. Mr. Manley and his staff began to develop programs and activities that related specifically to the needs of the youth and their families. These

programs continued through the 1940's and other community education programs in eight small Michigan communities were sponsored by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation.

26. The early 1950's saw another major step in the development of community education. In 1951 the first full-time community school director was appointed to a school in Flint. This meant that the community to be served was the same as that served by the school. Along with that, the community school director worked closely with all school personnel and had full access to the school facilities. Two additional requirements - that the director was a college graduate and had a teaching certificate - were also added during that time.

27. At this time Mr. Manley became a guest instructor at Eastern Michigan and Michigan State University. He organized a graduate program in which the Flint community education directors were enrolled and which stressed the development of leadership skills. This program culminated in the Inter-University Clinical Preparation Program, begun in 1964, in which seven State universities in Michigan, the Mott Foundation and the Flint school system joined to provide formal leadership training courses leading to advanced degrees.

28. In the early 1960's the Mott Foundation began to establish regional centers at major universities to distribute information, offer technical assistance to local districts, and train leaders for community education. Smaller centers have also been established at universities or with State education departments to encourage the growth of programs in specific areas.

29. The number of school districts which had community education programs in the early 1960's was still very small. They were clustered largely in Michigan. In the last ten to fifteen years, however, this situation has changed dramatically. The rapid increase was due in large part to the leadership of the above-mentioned Mott Foundation centers. Additionally, in the mid-1960's there was increased State and Federal involvement in community education. With increased Federal spending on education and community development, funds for community education development became available through President Johnson's War on Poverty.

30. Aided by additional funds and technical assistance provided by the State and Federal governments in the last few years and with the educational situation changing rapidly, the rise in the number of community education programs has been dramatic.

STATE AND FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR COMMUNITY EDUCATION

31. The need for support and leadership of community education at the State and local levels has grown as the number of community education programs has increased in recent years. It is noteworthy that even in these times of severe budget constraints, especially, at the State level, seven States have introduced legislation which would provide funds and guidelines for the development of community education programs. Seven States have passed such legislation into law in the last five years and are now making grants to local school districts to support community education.

32. The States are also providing much more than funding to the local school districts. State plans are being developed to coordinate local program development. Training, technical assistance and the involvement of other institutions such as community colleges and local governments, are facilitated by the State education departments or the commissions they delegate to oversee community education. It is at the State level that co-ordination with education associations, associations of commerce and industry, labor organizations, and others is carried out. Perhaps most important, with co-ordination at the State level, resources can be used fully, and the lessons learned in one area can be transmitted to another so that programs can be developed quickly and successfully.

33. These same needs for coordination and technical assistance exist at the Federal level as well. Liaison is needed with the national network of community education training centers and national associations. Co-ordination is needed between the States, and funds are needed for the development of programs.

34. In response to these growing needs, the Congress passed and President Ford signed into law the Community Schools Act as a part of the Educational Amendments of 1974. The Act authorized the U.S. Commissioner of Education to carry out a program which would encourage a wide variety of community education programs in the different States.

35. The Commissioner is authorized to make grants to support community education in a variety of ways. The total amount of grants awarded to local education agencies, State departments, and colleges and universities for the 1976-77 school year is $3.5 million. As the amount of funds available is extremely limited, the purpose of these grants is to stimulate the development of community education programs without taking over primary funding responsibility from the State and local levels. To insure this, grants are made for only one year and they never pay for the full cost of any program, but they do insure that there is an administrator who can bring together existing community resources and services.

36. There are now approximately 1 185 school districts across the country which have community education programs (almost one of every 17 school districts). To facilitate the development of new programs and the expansion and improvement of programs already established, federal grants were made to 48 school districts during Fiscal Year 1976. While these programs differ substantially, the Community Schools Act requires that all be designed to achieve or currently demonstrate these minimum elements:

i) The program must provide for direct and substantial involvement of a public elementary or secondary school in the administration and operation of the program.

ii) The program must serve an identified community which is at least co-extensive with the school attendance area of the school involved in it, except where circumstances warrant the identification of a smaller community.

iii) Program services to the community must be sufficiently concentrated and comprehensive in a specific public facility. Satellite or mobile facilities related to the community center may be used by the center for the provision of a portion of the program's activities.

iv) The program must extend the program activities and services offered by, and uses made of, the public facility being used. This extension should include the scope and nature of the program service, the total population served, and the hours of service.

v) The program must include systematic and effective procedures (a) for identifying and documenting on a continuing basis the needs, interests, and concerns of the community served, and (b) for responding to such needs, interests and concerns.

vi) The program must provide for the identification and utilization to the fullest extent possible of educational, cultural, recreational and other existing or planned resources in the community. The program must also be designed to encourage and utilize co-operative arrangements among public and private agencies to make maximum use of the talents and resources of the community, avoiding duplication of services.

vii) The program must be designed to serve all age groups in the community as well as groups within the community with special needs (such as persons of limited English-speaking ability, mentally or physically handicapped, etc.) or other special target groups not adequately served by existing programs in the community.

viii) The program must provide for the active and continuous involvement of institutions, groups and individuals broadly representative of the community served. They must be continually involved in the assessment of community needs, the identification of community resources, and in program evaluation.

37. Beyond these basics, the desire is to fund a number of programs across the country which are trying innovative approaches to meeting community needs and which might serve as models for other programs. Program funds, therefore, go to different regions of the country with programs to be run by different groups within the community in co-operation with the schools and directed toward many different problems.

38. Grants to the State education departments develop their capacity to aid the development of community education in their State. Each State department develops its own plan based on the needs it perceives, its relationship to the local education agencies, and its unique goals. Programs include staff training, workshops for school officials and community leaders, and other technical assistance.

39. Financial assistance is provided to a number of colleges and universities to help establish or expand programs which will train persons to plan and operate community education programs. Again, there will be experimentation with different training methods and approaches to various issues. Training programs will focus on the different leadership positions in community education, improving the skills needed for successful programs, and improving knowledge of community structure.

40. During the year for which these grants are awarded, the staff of the Community Education Program works closely with the grantees. Through this relationship, the funded programs receive technical assistance and through their experimentation and evaluation, they will contribute to a growing body of knowledge about community education.

41. The Community Schools Act has also mandated that a Community Education Clearinghouse be established to collect and disseminate information about community education. The clearinghouse will take a very active role in identifying areas where there seems to be lack of materials and working closely with programs across the country. The staff of the Community Education Program will work closely with the clearinghouse, helping to develop its priorities based on the experience and needs of the grantees.

42. To advise the Commissioner of Education on policy matters related to community education, the Act provides for the establishment of a national Community Education Advisory Council. This Council is selected by the

Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (of which the Office of Education is a part) and is composed of people with experience in community education programs and related educational areas. The current Advisory Council is attempting to evaluate the present state and needs of community education, concentrating its efforts on research which examines various aspects of community education in detail.

43. While there has been research done on community education in the past, it has often been either too specifically devoted to one area of the country or the questions to which it was addressed are not those that are now most crucial for local needs. Some of the current Advisory Council projects include an examination of the role of State education agencies in community education, the identification of related Federal programs which provide aid for components of community education programs, the development of materials suggesting alternative approaches to increasing community participation, and exploring ways to increase the impact of community education and senior citizens on each other. Together, these projects will contribute to increased understanding of the dynamics of community education and improved programs.

44. Thus, in summary, the goals of Federal involvement in community education are basically fourfold: to provide additional financial resources to community education, to develop and disseminate information on successful practices, to systematically evaluate the results of community education programs, and to encourage local and State efforts without supplanting the work already begun.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE GROWTH OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION

45. The preceding discussion describes the growth of community education from a local experiment to a nationwide program. What remains to be explained is why this happened and what changes in American society have contributed to the dramatic growth of community education.

46. Several reasons for this growth need to be mentioned here. First, America's demographic patterns have been changing considerably over the last forty years. Throughout the first half of this century and into the second half, the cities were swelled with people moving from rural areas and small towns in search of work and a higher standard of living. City living, with all of its transience, lack of community, and anonymity, led to many new large scale social problems. The first community education programs were attempts to deal with these problems.

47. However, the rural-to-urban trend has slowly reversed itself in the last 10-20 years, as city people have moved to the suburbs and into smaller towns and rural areas around our cities. Some of the most populated States have actually experienced slight decreases in population in recent years, and States in the South and West are growing rapidly. The effect of these population movements on the schools has been enormous.

48. The variety of services offered to youth and children by the schools expanded as America's population grew during the 1950's. School buildings were built to meet the requirements of this growing and moving population, and schools became even more central to the communities as education was seen as the way to better oneself and one's standard of living. With a growing economy and the recognition of greater educational needs, money became more available for the schools. Facilities, programs, and services were expanded greatly.

49. In the last few years, however, these trends have been dramatically reversed, raising urgent questions about the future directions of school programs. When the economy went into a recession, money for innovations decreased as local tax bases remained the same or decreased. State and Federal money for education, though greatly increased in the last twenty years, has not been able to fully meet the increased demands.

50. At the same time, the population distribution by age has been changing rapidly. The number of elementary school pupils has been declining since fall 1967, and, although the number of secondary school pupils continued to increase through fall 1975, the number of elementary and secondary school pupils together has been declining since it peaked around 1970 and 1971. The decline in elementary school enrollments is expected to continue through fall 1983, that of secondary school enrollments through fall 1986, and that of elementary and secondary enrollments together through fall 1984. The result of declining enrollments and population shifts is a growing number of empty classrooms across the country.

51. There are also increasing numbers of older citizens as the average life span continues to increase. In 1970 there were 12.4 million adults between 65 and 74 years of age and another 7.5 million over 75. With retirement ages being slowly lowered, retirees often have 15 to 20 years in which they can develop completely new life styles and new careers.

52. As the world becomes more complex, needed job skills change and people are confronted with more information about more topics every day. American adults are expressing an increased need for vocational training and continuing education. To insure quality education for their children, parents are also expressing their view on a wide variety of controversial educational issues and demanding a greater role in the schools of their communities.

53. All of these trends have combined to force a reexamination of the ways American education works today. Community education, with its orientation toward maximizing the efficient use of resources and greater community involvements, offers one way to attack the problems confronting American education today. As more school districts face these problems and see that community education programs do work, they are beginning to develop their own programs to meet their local needs.

CONCLUSION: NEW DIRECTIONS, NEW QUESTIONS

54. Beyond the general goals for community education that have been previously described - maximizing the efficient use of resources, developing an overall approach to meeting the community's needs - there are many questions still to be answered about the future directions of community education. Much has been done since community education's beginning in 1927, but the changing times require much more work to improve what is now being done.

55. Perhaps the most important work that is yet to be completed is the encouraging of school officials to think differently about the role of the schools and the scope of educational programming. Many people still believe that the purpose of the schools is only to operate between 8 a.m. and 3 p.m. for children and youth and that there are no other educational needs which the schools should attempt to fulfill. Building acceptance of new roles - for teachers, administrators and the community - is slow. Changes are taking place, but they are often slow. To give up the certainty of established roles for the challenge of a new approach to education requires preparation and wisdom.

56. The many changes in recent years also raise the general question, what is the role of the school and education today? That is now a very open question and one not easily answered.

57. Many new programs are being developed, and their number should expand greatly in the next few years. As these programs are developed and they answer some questions about what community education can offer, many questions remain about what programs are most appropriate in specific situations and which are most compatible together. The next few years will demand answers to these questions.

FROM INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS TOWARDS CITY-WIDE NETWORKS

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INTRODUCTION

CONTENT OF STUDY

1. The United States case studies present various features which distinguish them from the case studies done in other countries and which justify their specific treatment.

The great diversity of projects and practices found reflects the decentralised decision-making structure and autonomy of local school boards in respect to education. Within a general framework of common institutional arrangements various states respond to different situations with different measures and different legislation. This applies in particular to social and educational policies. Local authorities have a tendency to favour specific solutions which seem to suit their particular situation.

School boards which appoint the superintendent of schools who in turn is responsible for the day to day decision-making are usually elected separately from other municipal offices. Education is paid for directly by the user through property taxes instead of being included in the common taxes levied by the state or federal government. That means people are continually aware of how much education costs. Bond issues to finance new construction are usually preceded by informative campaigns to convince voters about the necessity of a project.

The co-ordination of school and community facilities has a long standing tradition in the United States. Schools have always been a focus of community life - from early frontier settlements up to the present time. The direct link to the citizen in terms of educational decision-making and financing makes schools fare more responsive to educational, social and economic changes than is the case in Europe. This in some cases, proves to be advantageous, in others rather difficult - mainly where continuous policies are required.

2. For all the above reasons, approaching the diversity of the situations through different case studies seemed preferable to the detailed study of a single case. Such a definition of the scope of the study implied, however, a suitable method of work. The method adopted and applied in the three other studies of cases, drawn from different countries, made a clear distinction between the description of the case and the comments to which it gave rise. The objective of the former was to provide detailed information on issues or themes considered to be the most important for the overall study of co-ordination of school and community facilities, whereas the comments, through the professional opinion of a competent observer, aimed at bringing out the problems to which co-ordination had given rise in the case under consideration. In view of the multiplicity of the situations studied in the case of the United States, it would have been impossible to proceed in this way. First, because sufficient information could not be presented on each of these situations in one single report, and secondly, because it would imply a dispersion harmful to the analysis.

3. This is why the presentation of the United States study will have two distinct characteristics. First, the totality of the information will be regrouped around the three major types of situations studied and presented in two parts, supplemented by references to cases in order to elucidate specific aspects. Secondly, the presentation of the study will almost do away with the distinction between description and comments. While referring to the objectives of the overall study which in the first instance aim at identifying the problems common to the various experiences of co-ordination of facilities, the study will try to focus information and comments simultaneously around a limited number of themes conceived as bundles of problems. This means, in a sense, anticipating the synthesis which will be the end product of the overall study and the integration of the various case studies.

4. Part One deals with two extreme solutions:

Facilities that have been conceived to house educational and social services and are typical for a number of large complexes which were planned and built in the 60's and early 70's. The examples presented are the Human Resources Center in Pontiac, Michigan; the Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center in Arlington, Virginia; and Paul Laurence Dunbar High School and Community Center in Baltimore, Maryland. (Since a large amount of detailed information

is available on these projects, this report concentrates on their use today and the developmental changes since they opened their doors to the public.)

A new situation which most school districts in the United States are facing today: shrinking enrolments and declining economic resources. This section describes the fast-changing context in which the community schools movement has gained new territories for vastly different reasons than those which led to the large integrated community school complexes of the 60's or even the city-wide models of the late 60's and early 70's. For school districts faced with decreasing enrolments and empty schools the introduction of new uses and users to schools often becomes a matter of survival rather than ideology.

5. Part Two reports on the neighbourhood and city-wide models, in particular the SAND project and the Everywhere School in Hartford, Connecticut, and the community school concept (including various models and programs) in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Both differ from the earlier models in their stress on the dispersion of educational and community facilities. Short descriptions and evaluations of the community school movements in New Haven and Flint (as some of the oldest examples of city-wide community school concepts) and East Windsor (as an example of a smaller but growing community) have been added to show organic growth patterns as well as interventionist approaches to planning co-ordinated school and community facilities on a city-wide scale.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

6. Since many features of today's programs and plans are based on earlier models, a short history of the community school movement in the United States seems a necessary pre-requisite for a full understanding of the situation today. The idea of integrating "academic" and "social" education has its roots in the very American conviction that man is an educable creature, that, through a far reaching education that deals with life's demands, he will not only be better off individually but a more worthy and useful member of society as well. From its beginnings, however, America has recognised the fundamental conflict between the individual's

rights and freedom and the welfare of the society. Americans, under pressure in emergency or critical times, always give attention to educational questions with particular intensity. It is, therefore, understandable at such times to remember the "beginning".

School and Community in the Pioneer Period

7. In the small towns of the early American West, which exhibited only a rudimentary administrative structure, the conflict between individual and society was solved with obvious satisfaction. The one room community school house, a result of societal and individual efforts, was at the same time the social, cultural, administrative and recreation center of the community. The citizens of the community were responsible for the organisation, personnel, operation and maintenance of the school. In addition to the curriculum, which was limited to begin with, it reflected the needs of the community. Instruction was not limited to distinct age groups and the school year was governed by the seasons and the daily procedures of the community.

8. In emergency or dangerous times, the school house in rural areas, villages and small towns was used as an emergency shelter, provisional hospital, distribution center for articles of food and clothing, health agency or as "factory rooms" for the production and canning of food. All of this belonged in large part to "instruction" and was in no way considered to be foreign to the purposes of the school. In that way education oriented itself on the extensive needs of the community. The multiple use of the school was discontinued when the proper instruction for the "growing number of youth" won a clear priority and the other activities of the school were set aside - a first step in the alienation of the school from the supporting community.

The Development of the Regular School with Specialised Instruction: Separation of School and Community

9. In the course of the 19th century, with increasing urbanisation, constantly improving technology and growing demand for special knowledge and skills, the school broadened and differentiated itself more and more. At the same time the content of instruction became more abstract and grew further apart from particular local needs. Towards the end of the century, the uses of school for multiple purposes other than instruction were reduced by law. The practical regulations, however, were left up to the local school agencies. The educational reforms after 1900 changed the rules and reversed the trend again saying that it was the duty of the

school to widen its uses to include the general public.

10. With the assumption of responsibility for public education by school agencies and various levels of government in the middle of the 19th century, the school district developed as the organisational entity for public education. Since then, the citizens within each district have the right to convene meetings, to make decisions about capital investments (for construction of the schools), running costs (teacher's salaries) and, therefore, the amount of their taxes to be devoted to the maintenance of the school. With this school organisation and the support of the local citizenry, the school remained a community institution in small towns. With the growth of cities, however, the influence of ordinary citizens diminished. In urban and rural areas a tendency toward stronger centralisation of school agencies appeared, in other words, a movement toward ever larger administrative entities. These centralised school systems became, in the passage of time, so arbitrary and inaccessible to the influence of the citizenry, that many of the earlier educational reformers of America pleaded for the right and competency to break up school districts into smaller units again.

11. The organisation and practice of education in America today is still controversial. Many people are of the opinion that the traditional school, which has developed as it is today - with an administration which guarantees its independence and with an institutional arrangement which is totally directed toward the purpose of instruction - is worth its price. Others find this isolation of the school vulnerable for economic reasons. Some argue for a change from an educational point of view. It is from the latter groups that the movement for "community education" has received its original impetus.

Educational Reforms since 1900: the Beginnings of Community Education

12. In the reform period around 1900, when the first far reaching results of technological and industrial development could be perceived, the dissatisfaction with the public school system was also widespread. The criticism was characterised by charges that the school was too far removed from the real life of the society and the community and was not addressing itself to their problems. The critics were referring not only to the curriculum and instruction but also to the school buildings which, with their narrow isolated classrooms, did not conform to the wider uses for community purposes. At this time, John Dewey, who had developed an experimental school at the University of Chicago, argued for education that was related to life: "Learning, of course, but above all living

and learning through and in relation to this life." (1) "Individualised instruction", "project method" and above all "progressive education" were the catchwords of the time." In the period after the first World War with its penetrating societal changes in Europe, one saw "Democracy through Education" as a mandate from America. "The democratic problem in education is not primarily a problem of training children; it is a problem of making a community within which children cannot help growing up to be democratic, intelligent, disciplined to freedom, reverent to the goals of life, and eager to share in the tasks of the age. Schools cannot produce the result, nothing but the community can do so." (2)

13. The Great Depression (1929-31) which followed the "Black Friday" of 1929 brought the problems and interests of the community - particularly small, rural communities - again into the foreground and oriented education again on immediate local needs. The school acquired new importance as a practical resource in an often dramatic struggle for existence. The dual use of school rooms for educational and community purposes came about because of the economic situation. The educational endeavours of these years were characterised as a "mixture of economic emergency and philosophical idealism". A changed attitude towards educational development can be seen in the large number of publications on school and education, and volumes on educational problems which appeared in the thirties, forties and fifties.

14. As a result of a widened interest in politics and a greater world interest in the politics of America, Ellwood P. Cubberly in Public Education in the United States published in 1934, made the demand "that the public school must become the single, large, active power apart from politics and religious sects and bring about results by becoming a center for the formation and creation of a community way of thinking". Samuel Everett, in a report to the Committee on the Community School defined community education "as an organizational process which, at the same time, is an expression of and an instrument for the purposes of the citizenry". In the book, The Community School, which Everett edited in 1938, descriptions of various projects and programs and their varying assumptions appeared. "All of life is education," wrote E. G. Olson in School and Community, 1945, and therewith confirmed the assumption that learning should not stop with the school. This view of education as a continuous process was accepted quite generally after the thirties. During this period, the community school movement began to spread throughout America.

1) John Dewey, School and Society, 1900.
2) Joseph K. Hart, The Discovery of Intelligence, New York: The Century Co., 1924, p.382.

In 1935 financial support for community education came from the Mott Foundation which supported the community school system in Flint, Michigan, and several national associations, institutions and conferences. Workshops and special visits to Flint and many published statements describing the Flint program have given to thousands of laymen and educators throughout America an understanding and enthusiasm for community education.

15. After the second World War, (with the thought or impression of having a world wide responsibility) there was again a strong need for educational renewal and renewal through education. One of the most significant experiments of the war and post-war period was administered by the University of Kentucky and known as "the Sloan Experiment". Various threads of the community school movement ran through the Sloan Experiment. For example, among the basic assumptions upon which the experimental procedure was built, were:

- school programs which emphasize community programs are effective for teaching skills and learning;
- if the children are to receive the ultimate benefits from a program of education in community problems, instruction dealing with these problems should begin in the first school year and should continue throughout the period of schooling; all children should be taught, as early as possible, the resources available for the solution of their problems;
- recruiting and utilising local resources and abilities would contribute towards the success of the experiment.

16. During the first year of the experiment in Kentucky, a need for instructional materials was recognised. The textbooks in use at the time included some topics related to food, but an analysis revealed that the content was general and often impractical for rural areas. The major emphasis of the experiment, therefore, became the preparation and evaluation of new instructional materials focused upon a community problem and the resources available for the solution of that problem. R.M.W. Travers in Second Handbook of Research of Teaching, Chicago 1973, described the rationale for the emphasis on special-purpose instructional materials in the Sloan Experiment. The underlying idea was that the children would take home information that they might discuss with their parents, and that the parents in turn would heed the advice and practical information given. The materials were designed to have impact on the quality of life in the community and were not limited to materials of literary interest alone. Similar reasons are given today for quite

comparable programs, e.g. in Pontiac (see paragraphs 28 to 72). Through the 40's and early 50's, as the concept of community education evolved, the following characteristics were the significant ones:

i) the community school recognised in actual programming the basic fact that education is a continuous process;
ii) educational objectives were stated in terms of desired changes in behaviour;
iii) educational activities, supported by appropriate instructional materials, were based upon the problems, needs, and interests of those for whom they were planned;
iv) the school served the community, and the community served the school;
v) a local community provided a focal point for understanding other, larger communities of people;
vi) the community school challenged school and community leaders.

The Current Situation: Motives for a New Educational Reform

17. The community education movement suffered a set-back in the "cold war" in a competitive struggle with forces of science and technology. Many educators saw the danger of being surpassed by "eastern" competition which put the first Sputnik into orbit in 1957. The best strategy appeared to be a stronger emphasis on the technical and natural science disciplines of formal education. A reversal of this trend followed towards the end of the 60's because of growing environmental and urban problems, increased mobility and wealth, racial conflicts and civil rights movements, and a polarisation of different social, cultural, economic and age groups. One of the typical traits of those years included an enthusiastic belief in quantitative methods for problem solving and, at the same time, a general feeling of increased incompetence on the individual level to direct or steer the course of events even in personal or small group affairs.

18. As a countermovement, community education promised: more human and individualised approaches; the participation of citizens in planning and decision-making processes; the open school concept; life-long learning; co-ordination of cultural, educational, recreational and social services; increased educational choices and opportunities. It was in fact an exact replica of the community school movement after the Great Depression. The community was seen as the catalyst for finding a specific solution to all its problems.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

19. Mainly for the non-American reader, a few of the most often used catch-words need to be explained:

"Resources" is a word which appears in conjunction with facilities as well as human beings (teachers, professionals, etc.), institutions, commercial establishments, or economic and financial means. In the first case it usually is the community which uses the schools' facility resources; in the second, it most often applies to the school which uses community (human, institutional, etc.) resources.

"Programs and agencies" in a few instances are a congruent set; but usually "program" connotes a limited, temporary approach to solve a certain problem with financial support from the government or school, while the "agency" is the organisational or administrative component. In contrast to Europe, where agencies are usually permanent, and programs appear and disappear, the link between program and agency in the United States is very much closer in that the agency often is eliminated when its major purpose, the program it serves, ceases to exist.

"Project" in turn may be used to describe a sub-part of a program or a larger entity in which several programs are co-ordinated depending on the context in which it is used.

"Decentralisation" is one of the principles which may be used in conjunction with decision-making processes, the provision of facilities and architectural design, but also in terms of educational methods. In each case, it means the subdivision of a larger unit into smaller more independent units, and often the delegation of a certain amount of power to the smaller unit. In spite of its comparatively decentralised educational system, a further delegation of decision-making power is widely discussed and implemented in the United States.

"Charette", participatory method for involving users, experts and agencies in the decision-making or programming process, usually lasting several days or weeks.

Part One

CO-ORDINATION IN SINGLE PROJECTS

SUMMARY

20. Part One deals with two opposite solutions for the co-ordination of school and community facilities: the large purpose-built educational and community centers of unprecedented size, a widely sought after solution of the 60's; and the use of existing vacant school spaces to accommodate social services in a more modest way - this has become the widely accepted solution of the 70's. Both aim at upgrading the social and physical environment through better use of personnel and institutional resources, and the elimination of duplicated services. In addition, both aim at a more adequate distribution of available resources through the integration of different socio-economic groups, different races (one of the main problems of the 60's), and the handicapped, senior citizens, or otherwise disadvantaged individuals (one of the main problems of the 70's). The shift from providing new facilities to re-using existing ones has three major reasons:

i) the decline of economic resources for all social services;
ii) the dramatic decline of student enrolments since the early 70's;
iii) a distinct trend away from large organisational units toward more decentralised and small scale solutions.

21. Although the time in which large purpose-built community/schools could be planned and implemented seems to be over, the influence of the early community/school types on today's developments are marked. They not only provide models, training grounds, and research opportunities; their initiators, with few exceptions, have assumed greater responsibilities in the decision-making hierarchies and are spreading the gospel based on early experiences - successes and failures. The large purpose-built community/schools, were built upon the following assumptions.

The first is that the physical integration of educational and other social services will enhance communication and co-operation among usually separated functions. This, as was found in the course of

the study, depends largely on the administration of the center and whether or not its leadership pursues this goal. If those preconditions are met, physical integration does become an asset.

The second assumption holds that the provision of large school facilities combining several previously separated schools with other social services will help to achieve racial and social integration and ameliorate socio-economic problems. The most remarkable example for racial integration found, is the Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center in Arlington, Virginia. It was the only place where black and white people mixed in educational and recreational programs, due probably to the middle-class structure and international mix of residents in this suburb of Washington, D.C. The Paul Laurence Dunbar Community High School, Baltimore, Maryland, a totally black ghetto community/school center has not even attempted racial integration. In Pontiac, Michigan, following the implementation of the Dana Whitmer Human Resources Center, five years of continuing "out migration" of white residents have been followed by one year of trend reversal. It is difficult to determine if this development is due to the Human Resources Center or the present economic crisis.

A third major reason for combining services is that this will produce more economical solutions in terms of capital outlay, maintenance and running costs as compared to providing these services separately. To begin with, certainly, none of the three large centers is particularly cheap. A fiscal analysis and reappraisal of original cost estimates in view of today's experiences is available only for the Human Resources Center in Pontiac. One way of analysing costs results in savings of more than $380 000 by combining facilities over what it would have cost if built separately. It does not include, however, an analysis of maintenance and running costs and only touches on the question of trade-offs.

A fourth assumption relates to participation of users and citizens in the planning and programming process. It can be shcwn, beyond a doubt, that an early and direct involvement of users is not only useful but necessary if the center is to be run in a truly co-operative fashion.

A fifth assumption, relating to innovative architectural design solutions as a result of agency and citizen involvement, must be refuted. All three planning processes involved the bureaucracy and the population; however, only one center can be termed architecturally innovative. For the subsequent functioning of the center, the

participation of the users seems to be less important than the group which initiates or organises the programming process. Where the initial seed money went to subsidise an architectural and urban planning study (Pontiac), the product still seems to excell in terms of architecture and urban design; where the money went to support a three day charette involving mainly the various agencies (Arlington), it produced the closest inter-agency co-operation; where it was used to pay for a two-week charette involving 500 citizens from the area (Baltimore), the center has become an outstanding example of community involvement and power.

22. Any innovative endeavour of the magnitude found here, which goes against decades of tradition, isolating education from other sectors and functions, should be given at least one decade before any conclusions are drawn about its validity. As major social innovations, however, these centers need a far greater amount of research and support than they receive at present to fulfill their roles as testing grounds for new co-operative patterns.

23. In contrast to the processes which led to the building of large purpose-built centers, the section on New Uses for Empty Schools, describes shorter and more economical solutions for integrating social and educational services by re-using existing school space. In some urban areas a result of declining student enrolments, in others caused by the exodus of the white middle class to suburbs, or the closing of major factories or business establishments, the "empty school phenomenon" is a multi-faceted issue. More varied than its causes are its effects upon local schools. While some are being bulldozed and others stand empty (costing about $3 000 per year for minimum maintenance), the overwhelming majority seem to find new uses. In many school districts teachers, administrators, parents and citizens have recognised that a facility for which they paid with their taxes needs to be returned to the community instead of being sold to private entrepreneurs (usually for a minimal sum). The economic crisis, less affluence and mobility, and widespread unemployment have increased rather than decreased the demand for social services and have led to a new awareness in regard to local conditions and the quality of the immediate environment. Federal and state regulations, requiring new educational opportunities for the handicapped and programs for the elderly, today meet with the need to fill empty school spaces. Recreational uses, youth and elderly clubrooms, special and adult education classes are among the most common uses. The use of local resources and temporary programs, however, create an indefinite variety, which defies a general statement in respect

to the acceptability of uses. State laws differ in respect to selling or renting school space. In most cases, school and educational uses rank first, other agencies and social services rank second and commercial and private uses third.

24. One of the new aspects of filling empty school spaces is the reversal of the traditional role of the school as a social service agency. Today, it is forced to develop strategies to attract users rather than to limit the use of its facilities to a selected group. The most common strategy has been to employ one person with a new or special status of community co-ordinator or director for recreation, depending on whether he is paid by the Board of Education or the municipality. Today, out of 563 municipalities in New Jersey, 200 provide a full-time paid director for recreation. In more and more cases, schools become a major focus of community recreation. The benefits, according to one of the directors, have been mainly:

- a noticeable cut down on police calls;
- less juvenile delinquency and vandalism.

Two detailed examples, Mount Holly and Wharton (both in New Jersey) demonstrate the effectiveness of one person who was given nothing but an empty school. In both cases, new methods had to be found to fill the empty space. Wharton provides a variety of ways to "market" the new program and resources offered. Supermarkets and dentists' offices, churches, libraries, and specialty shops provided opportunities for advertising programs. Personal invitations to the user by mail, newspaper articles, radio and television appearances were also effective in "selling" the community center. The problems of co-ordination happened to be minimal in both cases since the facilities did not house any educational functions when the community moved in. In this respect they are the exception rather than the rule as the "empty school phenomenon", usually leaves facilities half or quarter empty and new uses are forced to co-exist with the previously dominant one, namely education.

25. One major problem which seems to appear in various places is the lack of initial funds to alter and adapt existing facilities for new purposes. While the large purpose-built community centers in the 60's received grants between $15 000 and $40 000 for the purpose of a co-ordinated programming process, the community co-ordinator today often receives only his salary and no additional funds for renovation or structural changes in the school, thus depending entirely on voluntary contributions.

26. The strategy of letting people start without operational and rehabilitation funds, as in the Wharton and Mount Holly cases, certainly is not the fastest way to offer a comprehensive program, but may have the advantage of involving users in the shaping of their own environment and their own programs, and thus produce a deeper and more lasting identification with the community center than a renovation done by a commercial developer and ready-made governmental programs. However, a more balanced approach to providing community and educational centers would be desirable in order to support a movement towards co-ordination on a national scale. The present "make shift" solutions may be alright for an interim period of change from planning new to re-planning old facilities. In the event that further changes cannot be accommodated in new buildings, a more substantial rethinking in terms of re-programming, re-designing and re-modelling of old buildings will be required in the near future.

27. A further consequence of the rather sudden and unexpected appearance of a large number of empty schools is the implication of this phenomenon for the planning of new schools. According to present experience the new schools will probably not always be used as schools but are likely to have to serve a different purpose in the course of their life-span. It is essential, therefore, that this aspect is taken into account in the design of new educational facilities today.

THE PURPOSE-BUILT SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CENTER

Background Information

28. In the 60's, one of the foremost social concerns in the United States was the desegregation issue. It had become apparent that single measures alone, aimed at improving housing, employment, education or any other sectoral problem for black minorities, were not going to succeed in alleviating the inner cities' blight and the exodus of white middle class towards suburbia. Thus it became a question of where to begin to tackle these complex problems in an adequately comprehensive manner. Education, being a particularly sensitive issue for a nation which stresses the right of every individual to equal opportunity, became one of the entry points.

29. Equally as important as "comprehensive planning" and "equal opportunity through education" was "citizen participation in the planning process". Earlier experiences with urban renewal programs in ghetto areas in the 60's had shown that the middle class centralised planning bureaucracy served mainly middle and upper class values and interests, even where programs were aimed at alleviating problems in inner city ghettos and slums. The reaction against bureaucratic decision-making was that people began to insist on participating in the planning process.

30. In this time of high tension and raised expectations, three main educational and community centers were planned and built:

a) the Dana P. Whitmer Human Resources Center, Pontiac, Michigan;
b) the Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center, Arlington, Virginia;
c) the Paul Laurence Dunbar Community High School, Baltimore, Maryland.

All three centers came into existence because of the lack of adequate educational facilities in the first place and a lack of social services and community facilities in the second. They have been described in numerous publications. Tables 1 to 5, therefore, summarise in a brief and comparable form the available information and the results of two site visits of each center, in April 1974 and in January 1976.

31. Similar national and local preconditions led to the establishment of four goals for the co-ordination of school and community facilities in the 60's:

i) to create equal opportunities for all races and social classes and thus further the racial and social integration mainly in urban areas;

ii) to alleviate educational and social services deficits through a comprehensive planning process including the users;

iii) to produce a new type of facility which would be better suited than traditional schools to serve as a focal point for community activities;

iv) to enhance inter-agency co-operation and communication to alleviate duplication of services and to create missing links.

32. The following is an attempt to summarise which strategies were used to attain these goals and how they influenced programming and planning processes, co-operative models, educational content and teaching methodology, architecture and urban design, and cost factors. Table 1 (showing the time needed for the planning and implementation of the three centers, the type of school planned and the number of pupils enrolled, the capital costs incurred, the areas provided and the types of use made of the facilities demonstrates the vast differences between these new centers and traditional schools (with standard programs and one purpose), and explains why new strategies had to be found for planning, organisation, implementation and use.

Planning Processes

33. In the choice of strategies for the initial programming and planning processes, significant differences between the three centers can be found. Table 2 (Column 4) shows that seed money for the programming process was available in all three cases. This was an achievement in itself. The ways in which this money was used (Column 5) differ. This difference not only influenced later administrative arrangements, services, uses and operating arrangements (Table 3, Columns 1-6), but also stated and observed achievements and problems today (Table 5, Columns 1-2)

a) The Dana P. Whitmer Human Resources Center in Pontiac, Michigan (see Figure 1)

34. A petition signed by 300 parents, asking that the 69 year old McConnell Elementary School be replaced, gave the original impetus for Pontiac's new Human Resources Center (HRC). Pontiac's Board of Education and City Administration responded to the petition and to the need to replace half a dozen other inner city elementary schools by deciding that the schools needed more than just new buildings.

Table 1

TECHNICAL DATA ON THE THREE PURPOSE-BUILT SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CENTERS STUDIED

Center	1 Time		2 Type and size of school			3 Costs		4 Areas		5 Type of use of facilities		
	Beginning of planning period*	Beginning of operation	Type of school planned	Number of pupils 1974	Number of pupils 1976	Total costs (in U.S. dollars)	Costs per pupil	Site	Gross floor area	School use only	Community use only	Joint use
a) Dana P. Whitmer Human Resources Center, Pontiac, Michigan	1967	1971	Elementary School	1 800	1 450	5 500 000	5 400	17 acres	177 000 sq. ft. 16 280 m²	Instructional areas Administration	Social services agencies Community lounge Medical room	Restaurant Theatre Cafeteria Gymnasium
b) Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center, Arlington, Virginia	1966	1972	Junior High School	1 065	790	6 650 000	6 100	26 acres	235 000 sq. ft. 21 620 m²	Library Administration Cafeteria Locker rooms	Game room Cafeteria Locker rooms	Instructional areas Theatre Gymnasium
c) Paul Laurence Dunbar High School and Community Center, Baltimore, Maryland	1968	1974	High School (with strong vocational features), ungraded	1 600	1 200	16 000 000	10 000			Cafeteria Locker rooms Administration Teacher's areas	Social services offices	Restaurant Gymnasium Swimming Pool Instructional areas Library Workshops

* The beginning of the planning period is very difficult to determine and in most cases discussions about the project started very much earlier; for the sake of comparability these dates are derived from first attempts at programming or hiring of architects and experts.

Table 2

SOCIAL AND PLANNING BACKGROUND OF THE THREE PURPOSE-BUILT SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CENTERS STUDIED

Center	1 Social structure and number of inhabitants 1974	2 Social structure and number of inhabitants 1976	3 Location of site and urban planning features	4 Amount and donor of seed-money for planning (in U.S. dollars)	5 Character of planning process	6 Decision-making during planning and implementation phases	7 Motivation for co-ordination of services	8 Main source of information for this study
a) Dana P. Whitmer Human Resources Center, Pontiac, Michigan	Lower and middle class Segregated Affluent white and lower class black and Spanish American population	Increasingly Black and Puerto Rican, but recent return of white population	Central city site close to single family dwelling Residential neighbourhood	10 000 Mott Foundation	Expert planning in close contact with agencies and citizens	Pontiac Area Planning Council	Need to replace four white and two black elementary schools under desegregation order	David Lewis, architect/planner, expert-consultant
b) Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center, Arlington, Virginia	Middle class Integrated Transient population 187 000 inhabitants	Middle class Integrated Minorities decreased 174 000 inhabitants	Residential neighbourhood with high percentage of apartment dwellings	15 000 Educational Facilities Laboratories, New York	Three-day charette, agency-oriented	Project Planning Committee	Desegragation replacement of former all-white and all-black Junior High Schools Competition for desirable site	Joe Ringers, assistant-superintendent, agency co-ordinator
c) Paul Laurence Dunbar High School and Community Center, Baltimore, Maryland	Lower class black ghetto 365 000 inhabitants	Black but recent return of white population	Residential neighbourhood Public housing projects, mostly row houses, next to major traffic artery	32 000 State;Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and City	Two-week charette, people-oriented	Dunbar High School Community School Council	Need to replace all-black High School Lack of basic services	Hattie Harrison, citizen of Dunbar, now State legislator

Table 3

ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE THREE PURPOSE-BUILT SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CENTERS STUDIED

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Center	Administrative responsibility	Community services	Community services integrated	Community services co-operating (but not physically integrated)	Co-operating agencies	Operating arrangements
a) Dana P. Whitmer Human Resources Center, Pontiac, Michigan	Principal Other agencies (multi-use scheduling done by central administration)	Workshops Studies Language center Ethnic center Food co-operative Library Theatre Exhibition areas Restaurant	Community lounge Social agencies Child well clinic Dental clinic Manpower office Handicapped parents organisation	University of Michigan extension courses	Board of Education County Health Department Parks and Recreation Department State of Michigan Oakland University Michigan Employment Commission Boy and Girl Scouts Pontiac Youth Assistance Food co-operative	Other agencies obtain rent-free space in the center (restaurant needs to break even)
b) Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center, Arlington, Virginia	Facility Manager Assistant Principal for community education (present after school hours)	Community Recreation Center, canteen, clubroom, game room, applied arts, performing arts room Controlled environment facility		Universities Arlington Career Center Smithsonian Greenhouse Child Care Program	Board of Education Recreation department (inter-agency representation on every capital planning committee)	Tax share and rental receipts joined in community activities fund
c) Paul Laurence Dunbar High School and Community Center, Baltimore, Maryland	Community school principal All other agencies responsible for their own affairs	City Hall office Social security office Parole and probation office Cultural arts project Community Development Council	Juvenile services office Youth services office Theatre Gymnasium Swimming pool Restaurant Workshops	Dunbar day care center Infant care Legal aid office Social services office Manpower office Antioch College Harbor City Learning Project Infant parent center	City Hall Department of Social Security Police Department Parks and Recreation Department Department of Manpower Antioch College	Agencies rent space from Board of Education

Table 4

MULTI-USE ASPECTS OF THE THREE PURPOSE-BUILT SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CENTERS STUDIED

Center	1 Number of non-school users	2 Number of visitors	3 Priorities for the use of multi-use areas	4 Weekend uses	5 Opening times	6 Special problems and arrangements arising because of multi-use
a) P. Whitmer Human Resources Center, Pontiac, Michigan	Space designed for 3 500 adults	3 000 per year	Elementary school Community Outsiders	Very few	7 a.m. to 10 p.m.	Principal has to fill in request forms for multi-use facilities
b) Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center, Arlington, Virginia	Now 42 000 per month (without sports facilities) About 2 500 per day	400-500 per year	Different according to area, e.g. instructional areas have school priority, recreational areas community priority	Entire center is used (except educational wings), mostly the auditorium	7 a.m. to 9 p.m.	Special custodial services
c) Paul Laurence Dunbar High School and Community Center, Baltimore, Maryland	About 40 000 per month (varies depending on large group services or individual services); sometimes several thousands per day	1 000-2 000 per year	School community Outsiders	Fewer than in the past	7 a.m. to 11 p.m.	Sign-in procedure Tight security

Table 5

ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROBLEMS OF THE THREE PURPOSE-BUILT SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CENTERS STUDIED

Center	1 Stated and observed achievements (1976)	2 Stated and observed problems (1976)	3 Shift in emphasis or unforeseen developments
a) Dana P. Whitmer Human Resources Center, Pontiac Michigan	Absentee and vandalism rate not as high as in other schools of similar social composition Good teacher, parent, administration relationships Theatre used three nights a week Highly differentiated educational areas function very well Developmental continuity program (education, health and social needs of total family) White flight to the suburbs has been stopped (1976 first signs of reverse of trend)	Financial cut back hit mostly community services Commercial uses have not been integrated School is too large for elementary grades Community lounge should have more living room atmosphere, cafetorium should be more colourful Urban life along pedestrian link non-existent Lack of parking space prevents multi-use to some extent Parents not involved in hiring and firing of teachers any more	Greater emphasis on education (Development Continuity Program)(1)
b) Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center, Arlington, Virginia	Facility manager solution works well Latest developments show close co-operation of Arlington's agencies in the use of existing empty spaces and new programs (one million dollar fire station/library/community center)	Financial cut back difficult for retaining necessary staff in community areas In retrospect, school seems expensive as compared to use of existing facilities Multi-use limited in terms of "hard" social services, co-ordination rather conservative in its emphasis on education and recreation	Shift to county-wide community education using existing empty school space
c) Paul Laurence Dunbar High School and Community Center, Baltimore, Maryland	Infant care for student mothers very successful Interdepartmental and agency co-operation very close and successful (people come for help from all parts of the city) Drop-out rate now less than 1% because youngsters cannot fail (individualised courses) Increase in property value Summer corps program	Vandalism problem Security Racial tensions still considerable (only school with sign-in procedures) Architecturally rather closed-in common areas (monotonous colouring)	More job placements and handling requests for help in social cases from other parts of the city

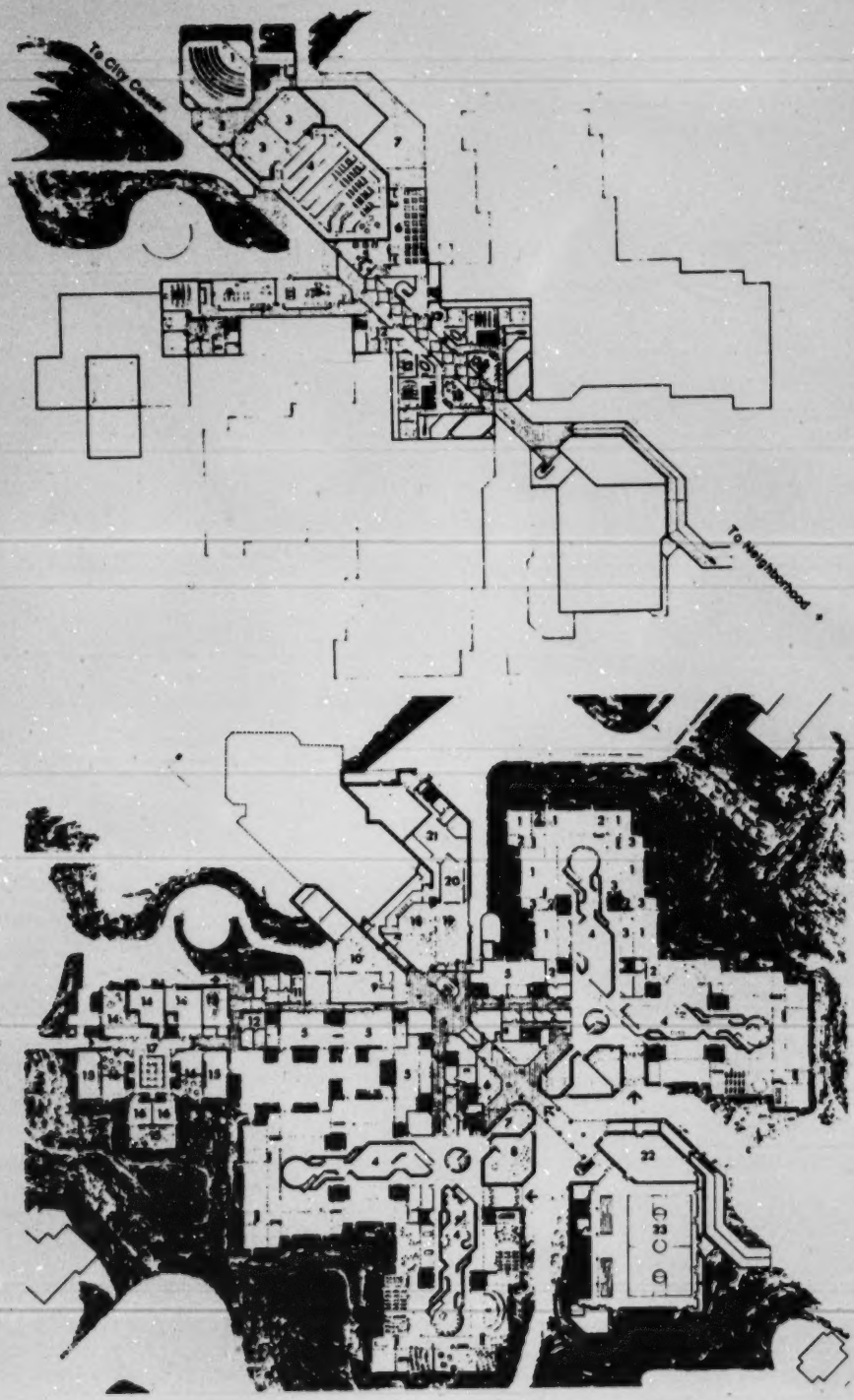
1) See paragraph 56

35. From the very outset of planning for the center, full community participation was sought and utilised. However, in contrast to the Jefferson Center and Dunbar processes, Pontiac's Board of Education used the seed money, given for the original programming process, to finance an expert feasibility study on the proposed center. The expert planners and architects proceeded in close contact with agencies and citizens. Based on the result of their work, the City Commission passed a resolution endorsing city involvement and thus further progress in planning and design. After a highly complicated and difficult implementation process, the HRC began its operations as the first center of its kind in the country. It was successful in many ways: it attracted agencies and universities to use the new facilities; its educational spaces, programs, and organisation are innovative and attractive for teachers and students. However, the most successful aspect of the HRC is its innovative urban and architectural design. Compared to the other two centers which have been particularly successful in achieving other goals, it seems that the HRC has generated a new type of architectural design which appropriately reflects the center's function as a focal point for community activities. The question may be asked whether this specific quality is (or is not) a direct outcome of the fact that architects and planners were given the opportunity to direct the initial programming process.

36. Although the HRC alleviated an educational and social services deficit (goal ii), paragraph 317 and enhanced inter-agency co-operation (goal iv), paragraph 317, it did not achieve the racial balance it set out to create. By integrating six primary schools (two predominantly black lower-class and four predominantly white middle-class) under desegregation orders and by adding a whole range of social services, the central administration assumed that the white flight to the suburbs would be halted, or at least slowed down. This proved to be impossible. Within three years most of the inner city area had become predominantly black and Spanish American, and those white parents who could afford it sent their children to private schools. A defeat of political forces responsible for the HRC at subsequent elections stopped the concept from spreading any further throughout the city. Only recently, in fact since the middle of 1975, has there been a reverse trend in that white families are moving back into the inner city. This trend, due mainly to economic constraints, appears for various reasons: the sharp raise in prices of suburban housing, the cheaper price of housing in inner city locations, and the higher cost of private transportation following the world oil crisis. Thus, the possibility seems to exist that the HRC (in a couple of years) may indeed become what its originators fought for - an integrated community/school center.

Figure 1

PLAN OF DANA P. WHITMER HUMAN RESOURCES CENTER IN PONTIAC, MICHIGAN



A series of open but highly identifiable teaching spaces create a child's city.

COMMUNITY LEVEL

1. Theater
2. Lobby, exhibition area
3. Choral Room/ Dance Hall
4. Cafetorium
5. Community Lounge
6. Public Restaurant
7. Outdoor Dining Terrace
8. Library/ Adult Study Center
9. Adult Home Economics
10. Community College Classroom
11. Community Health Center
12. Community Offices
13. Directors' Offices
14. Demonstration Classrooms
15. Teachers' Lounge

A glass-covered roof street linking neighborhoods to city center is focus of community activity.

STUDENT LEVEL

1. 20-40 Student Teaching Area
2. Wet Areas
3. Individual Work Areas
4. Materials Resource Center
5. Special Education
6. Ethnic Museum
7. Mini Theater
8. Music Room
9. Arts
10. Crafts
11. Medical Suite
12. Community College Extension Offices
13. Parent Education
14. Pre-School
15. Large Group Kindergarten (Active)
16. Small Group Kindergarten (Quiet)
17. Hideaway
18. Lower Cafetorium/ Stage
19. Backstage
20. Food Service
21. Kitchen
22. Motor Learning Laboratory
23. Spectator Gym

b) The Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center in Arlington, Virginia (see Figure 2)

37. The Thomas Jefferson Center (T.J.) in Arlington, a middle-class suburb of Washington, D.C., took nearly eight years to build. In 1966, the current and future needs of the Jefferson attendance area were first studied by a citizens' committee; in 1969, the first bond issue for a single building was defeated; and in the same year, two separate bond issues, one for a 4.5 million dollar school and another for a 2.5 million dollar recreation facility, were passed. Funds were subsequently combined for a single facility.

38. Similarly to the HRC in Pontiac, the T.J. under a desegregation order joined and replaced one predominantly black and one white junior high school and alleviated a social services deficit, through providing a multi-use facility together with the county recreation department. An additional reason for the co-operative venture was the necessity for a large enough site. Both agencies, in fact, were competing for the same site before they realised the potential for joining resources by integrating educational and recreational uses.

39. The seed money for programming the center in this case, provided by the Educational Facilities Laboratories, paid for a two day agency-oriented charette (seven months after the critical bond issue had been passed). During the charette, which was organised by the Board of Education, lectures and discussions among panelists and general participants on the various ways and intentions of agency co-operation played a dominant role.

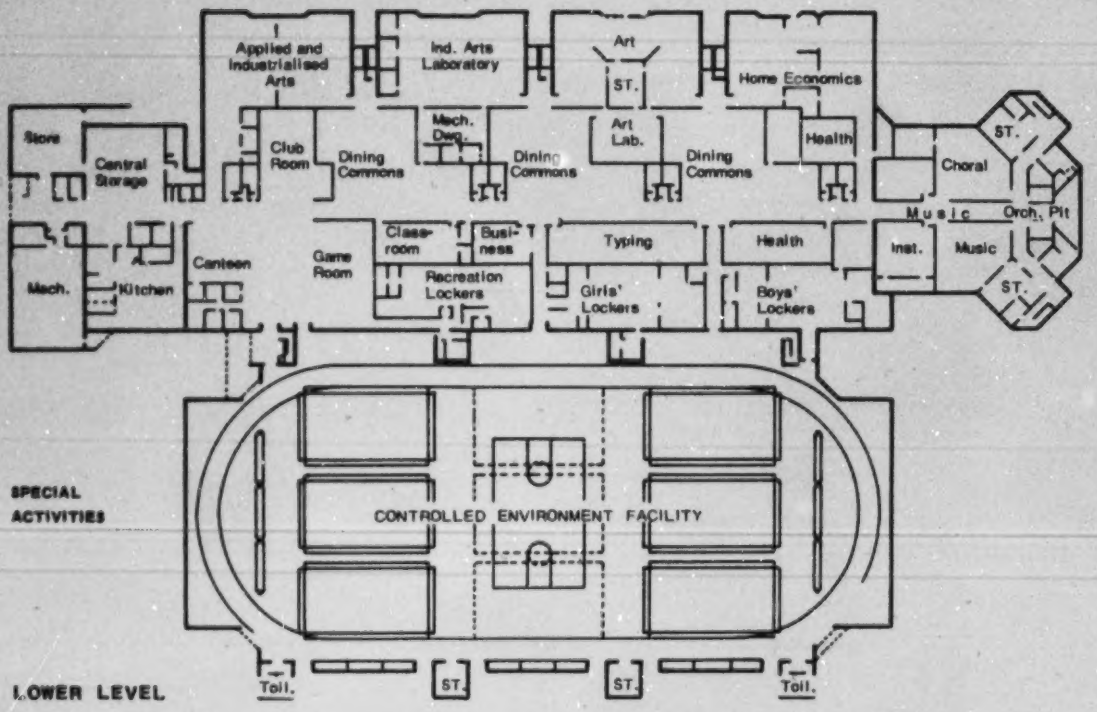
40. In 1973, T.J. opened its doors to students and community members. Through agreement between the two main users - the Board of Education and the Recreation Department - the multi-use facility has been programmed and organisationally supported in such a way that it is open to different users from morning to night and seven days a week.

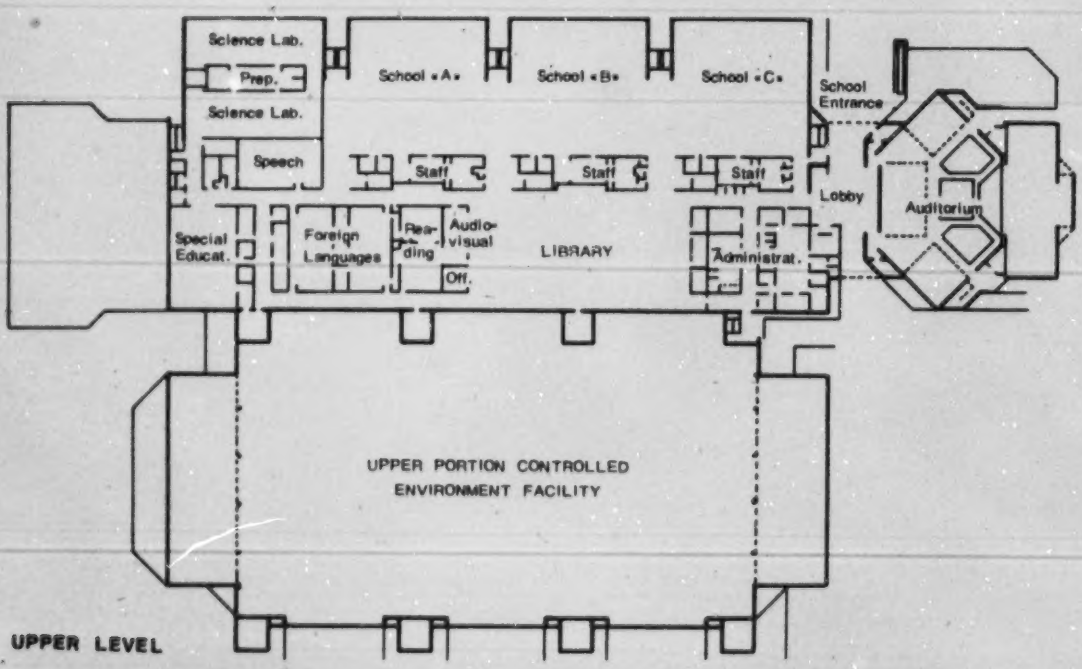
41. The highly transient student population of Arlington (30% of the students leave every year), a decrease of minority students, and a fairly middle to upper middle-class social structure naturally produce a radically different type and set of problems than those encountered in Pontiac with its deficit of social services (Table 2, Column 1-3). The organisational and architectural solutions, therefore, are quite different (Tables 3 and 4).

42. Due possibly to the middle-class social structure, T.J. has been extremely successful in reaching the goal of desegregation. In this respect, T.J. has a unique place in this study - not only within the context of the three large purpose-built centers; it is the only facility

Figure 2

PLAN OF THOMAS JEFFERSON JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CENTER IN ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA





visited in the course of the study where black and white users joined together in all recreational, educational and other group activities. Also, in terms of its closely-knit interagency co-operation, it certainly is successful.

43. In terms of expressing the openness of the center to the community, in architectural design, however, T.J's fortress-like appearance does not complement its content. And although further agency co-operation has led to closer ties between various other county agencies and by 1975 made it possible to solve the problem of declining enrolments throughout the school district, T.J. itself only alleviates a social services deficit in terms of education and recreation. The question, therefore, may be asked whether T.J's specific quality, i.e. its extensive overlap of educational and recreational functions, is not a direct outcome of the fact that the Board of Education and the Recreation Department have been the initiators of the programming and planning process.

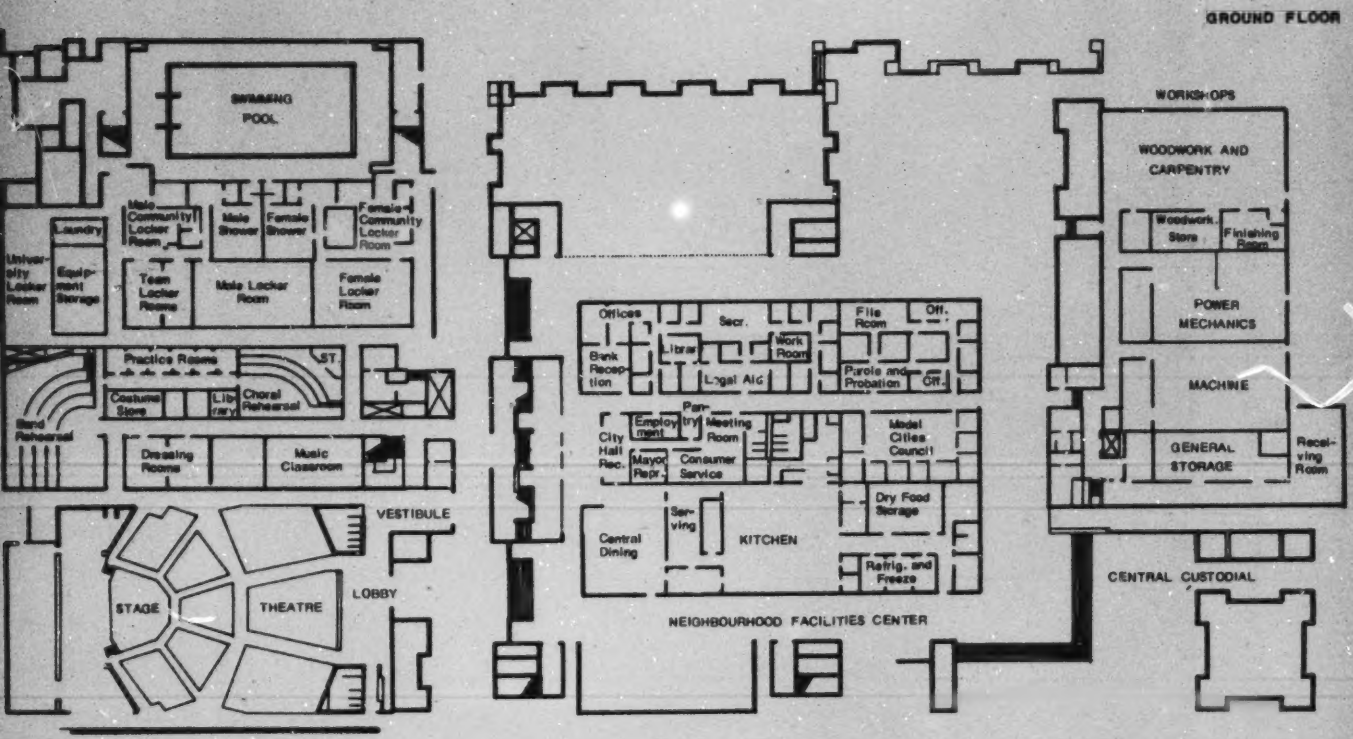
c) The Paul Laurence Dunbar High School and Community Center in Baltimore, Maryland (see Figure 3)

44. The Dunbar Community/School Center also replaced a substandard facility in an all-black ghetto area of East Baltimore, and added new uses in a 10 year planning and implementation process, based on a demand of a parent council in 1961-62. In contrast to the two foregoing answers to desegregation which meant integrating black and white schools, Dunbar's answer to the city's intention of closing the local all-black high school and joining it with a white suburban high school was no. The community saw the danger of being robbed of a facility which people considered essential for the future of their children. Therefore, unlike the HRC and T.J., the Dunbar Center more than any other community/school is a product of community aspiration, power and organisation. It was not meant to be integrated or to serve a greatly diversified clientele. It was intended to serve the needs of people who felt they had been left out of the mainstream of economic and social life in the United States and who were determined to fight for a better future for their children. This, however, required a tightly tailored array of educational, social and cultural services to meet the specific needs of this particular area. Remedial action rather than integration, became the strategy.

45. The seed money given by federal, state and city agencies funded the Dunbar charette. Organised by the citizens' council, it lasted for two weeks and involved about 300-500 people (about 100 were paid) - citizens, students, teachers, agencies and area hospital representatives. "In the first three days, people got their hostility off their chests, but what

Figure 3

PLAN OF PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR HIGH SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CENTER IN BALTIMORE, MARYLAND



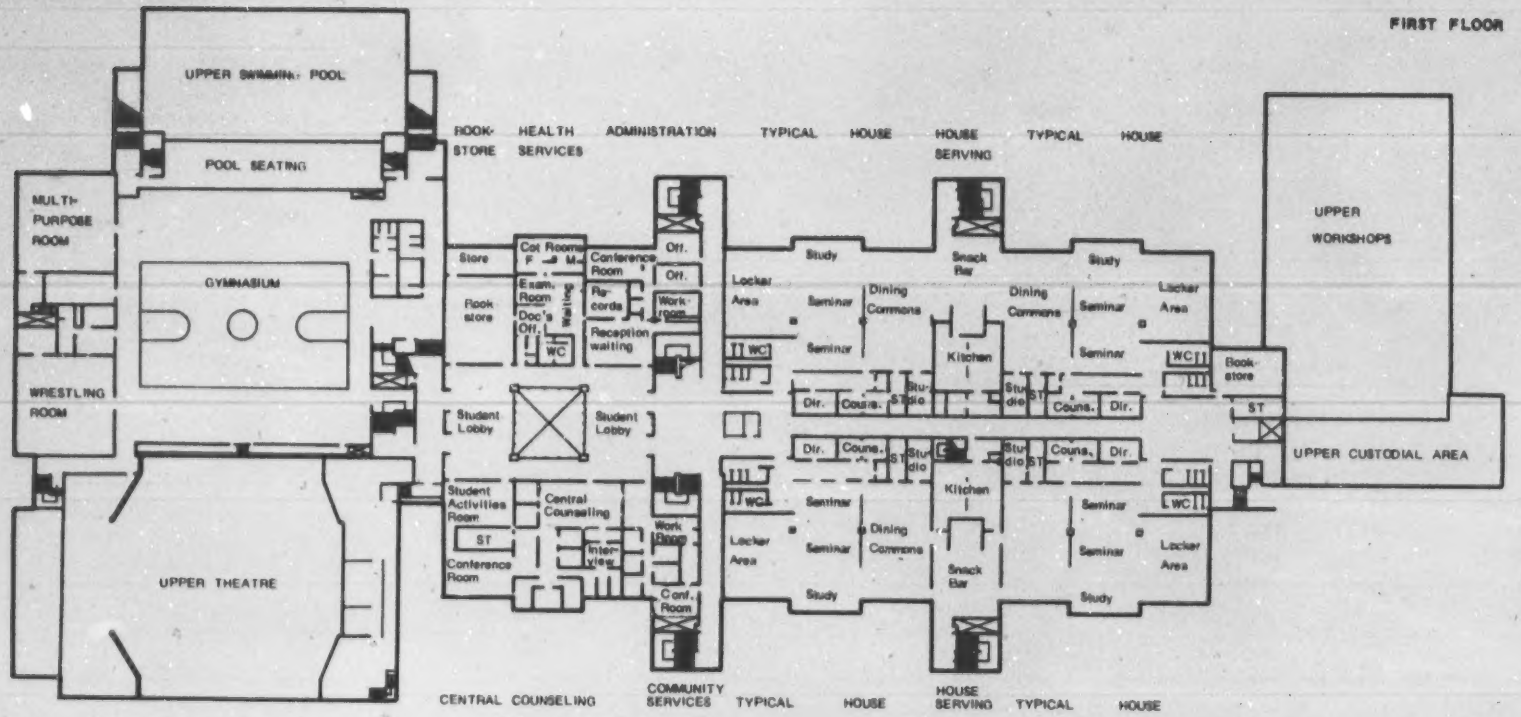

FIRST FLOOR
UPPER SWIMMING POOL
POOL SEATING
MULTI-PURPOSE ROOM
GYMNASIUM
WRESTLING ROOM
UPPER THEATRE
BOOK-STORE
HEALTH SERVICES
ADMINISTRATION
TYPICAL HOUSE
HOUSE SERVING
TYPICAL HOUSE
UPPER WORKSHOPS
UPPER CUSTODIAL AREA
Store
Book store
Cot Room F M
Exam. Room
Doc's Off.
Waiting
WC
Conference Room
Records
Reception waiting
Off.
Off.
Work room
Student Lobby
Student Lobby
Student Activities Room
ST
Conference Room
Central Counseling
Interview
Work Room
Conf. Room
Study
Locker Area
Seminar
Seminar
Dining Commons
Snack Bar
Kitchen
Dining Commons
Seminar
Seminar
Study
Locker Area
WC
Book-store
ST
Dir.
Couns.
ST
Stu-dio
Stu-dio
ST
Couns.
Dir.
Dir.
Couns.
ST
Stu-dio
Stu-dio
ST
Couns.
Dir.
WC
WC
Locker Area
Seminar
Seminar
Dining Commons
Snack Bar
Kitchen
Seminar
Seminar
Study
Locker Area
CENTRAL COUNSELING
COMMUNITY SERVICES
TYPICAL HOUSE
HOUSE SERVING
TYPICAL HOUSE

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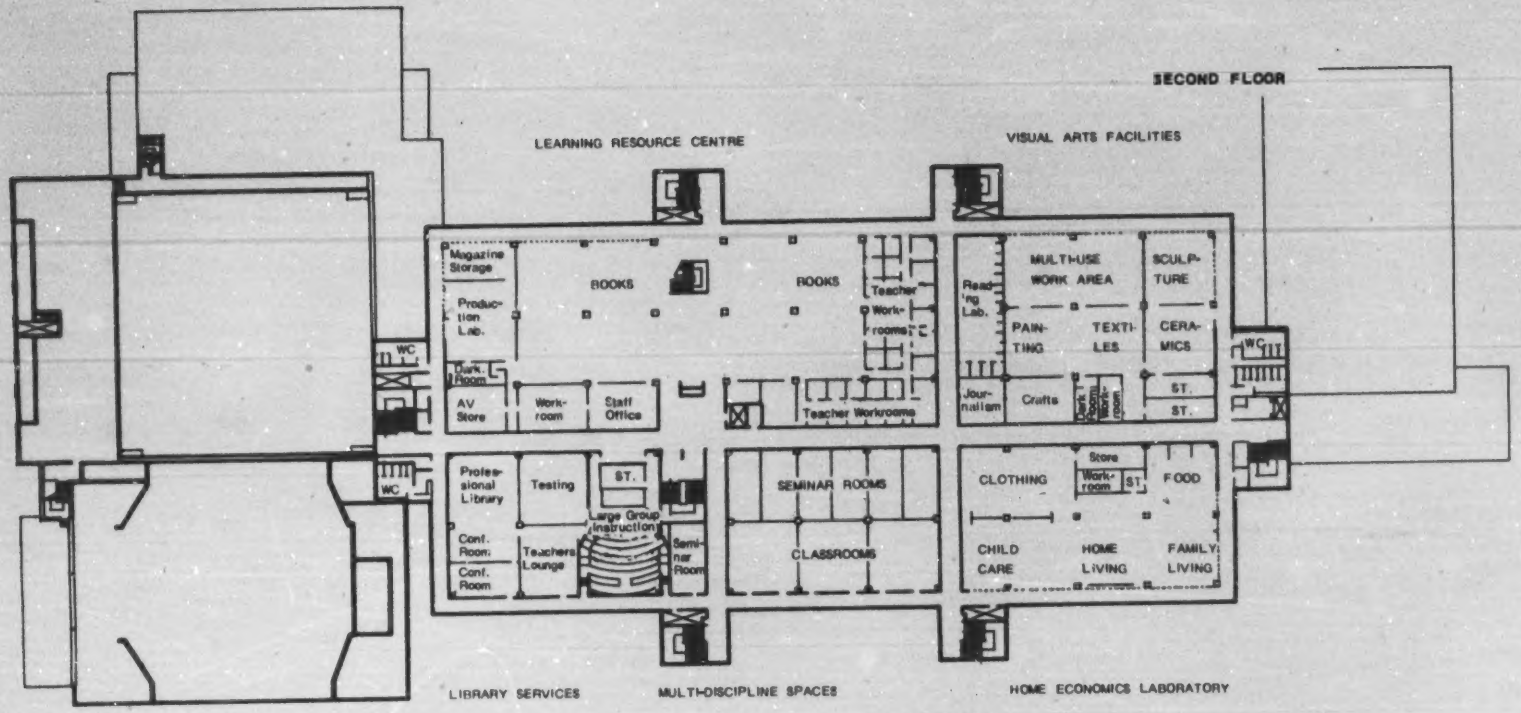
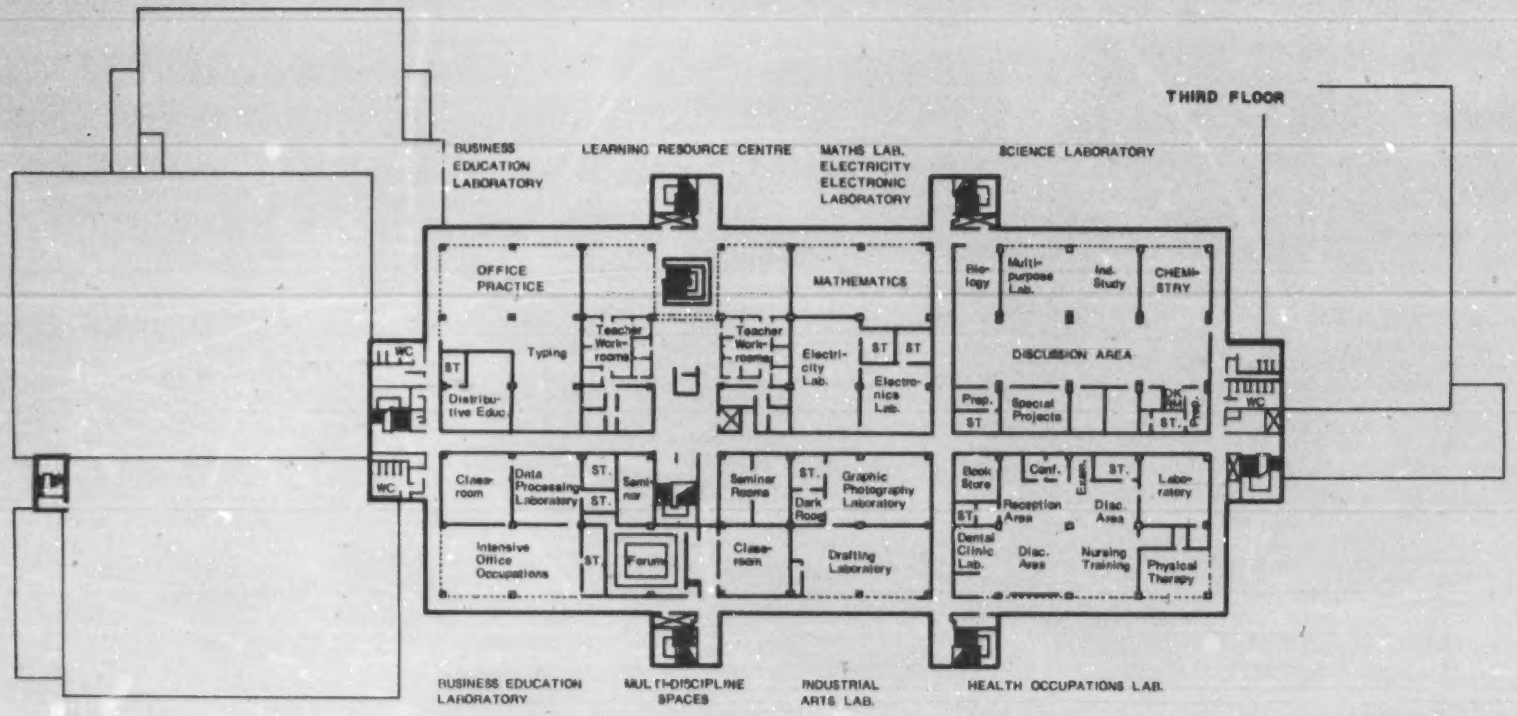
Figure 3

PLAN OF PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR HIGH SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CENTER IN BALTIMORE, MARYLAND




THIRD FLOOR
BUSINESS EDUCATION LABORATORY
LEARNING RESOURCE CENTRE
MATHS LAB. ELECTRICITY ELECTRONIC LABORATORY
SCIENCE LABORATORY
OFFICE PRACTICE
Typing
Teacher Work-rooms
Teacher Work-rooms
MATHEMATICS
Electri-city Lab.
Electro-nics Lab.
Biology
Multi-purpose Lab.
Ind. Study
CHEMI-STRY
DISCUSSION AREA
Prep.
Special Projects
Distribu-tive Educ.
WC
ST
Class-room
Data Processing Laboratory
Semi-nar
Seminar Rooms
Dark Room
Graphic Photography Laboratory
Intensive Office Occupations
Forum
Class-room
Drafting Laboratory
Book Store
Conf.
Exam.
Reception Area
Disc. Area
Labo-ratory
Dental Clinic Lab.
Disc. Area
Nursing Training
Physical Therapy
RUSINESS EDUCATION LABORATORY
MULTIDISCIPLINE SPACES
INDUSTRIAL ARTS LAB.
HEALTH OCCUPATIONS LAB.

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came out was what the community wanted the school to be, and that was a school that would serve the whole, total community." (1)

46. In the long, and at times painful, political process of articulating their needs, personal ties and leadership patterns began to emerge which up to this day remain valid and worthy of support. With this leadership, the community has been able to secure for itself not only one of the most elaborately equipped high school facilities but also the most comprehensive mix of social and community services which can be found in the United States. Dunbar remains a black high school and East Baltimore a black community even though the number of white families is increasing as better housing becomes available. But the school does serve as a model and central co-ordinating agency for social services in the city of Baltimore. Its original goals, it seems, have been far surpassed in terms of program and scheduling (most of the programs already show positive results). In terms of lay-out and architectural design, Dunbar follows a more traditional pattern in separating educational and community services except for multi-use facilities.

47. The development of all three centers has been of great significance for the people involved in their planning and implementation. However, nowhere have local leaders changed the course of their own lives in such a dramatic way as in Dunbar. Hattie Harrison, an early activist mother, now serves as a State of Maryland legislator and still retains her City Hall office within the Community/School Center, a former shower attendant is now a member of the City Council; the assistant principal became Superintendent of Schools in Baltimore. Most of the present staff seems to have been active in one way or another in the planning and initiation phases.

Links between Planning and Functioning

48. In contrast to Dunbar which seems to reach its high level of co-operation between the social service agencies and the school because of the charette and resulting personal ties, Pontiac's powerful "Parent Executive Board" has been eliminated. Instead of having strong powers relating to program, content, and the hiring and firing of personnel, the present HRC Parent Teacher Association serves in an advisory capacity. A similar development to the one observed in Dunbar which meant that many participants in the planning process later became employees in the school was not considered desirable in view of Pontiac's diverse social situation.

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1) Hattie Harrison, one of the main participants in a personal interview in 1974.

49. After revisiting all three centers in 1976, it seems that the differences in the ways the three schools' programs came into being still have a strong influence on the ways in which they operate today and even more on their relationship to the wider community:

- the greatest strength of the HRC in Pontiac where the seed money paid for an early expert study seems to lie in its innovative architectural and urban design; it still is the most outstanding example of community/school architecture in the United States and attracts about three thousand visitors per year from all over the United States and abroad (Table 4, Column 2);
- the main asset of the T.J. in Arlington, where the seed money paid for a three day agency-oriented charette, seems to lie in the way programs of various county agencies are interlocked and tailored to fit the community's needs;
- in the case of Dunbar, where the first programming funds went into a two week charette involving the community, experts and agencies, the Center is still the most closely linked to the individual people who fought for it, succeeded and often changed the course of their own lives in supporting this community venture.

There certainly are numerous other cause/effect relationships which cannot be traced as clearly as the above.

50. In order to characterise the ties between planning and later functioning three different types of co-operative models can be identified:

i) ad hoc structures which become permanent (Dunbar);
ii) existing structures which are given additional tasks and which grow beyond their original function in fulfilling these tasks (T.J);
iii) a mixture of types i) and ii), in which existing structures usually become more powerful and ad hoc structures disappear after having contributed their ideas in the process (HRC).

51. In view of the applicability of the specific solution to the wider community, T.J's comparatively moderate but successful attempt at co-ordination between two agencies /model ii/ has spawned a county-wide movement towards integration of educational, recreational, and social services. On the other hand, both Dunbar and to a larger degree the HRC /models i) and iii)/ represent unique solutions of great complexity (Table 3, Columns 1 and 2), which in this form cannot be repeated any more, partly because

social pressures and economic conditions have changed and require different approaches.

52. All three cases - Pontiac, Arlington and Dunbar - have experienced financial cut-backs and loss of student population to differing degrees. As a general rule, basic services are kept going fully; all additional services are diminished, sometimes even eliminated. A cut in week-end programs and staff is the first measure. A lack of motivation often follows. Pontiac's HRC, due possibly to the economic situation of the city, showed the most severe signs of disenchantment with the practicalities of co-operation and integration. This is not stated officially but penetrates through a number of details which all fit into the same pattern:

- no adult education courses are being held during week-ends;
- the pedestrian thoroughfare and link from the neighbourhood to the city center is closed at night in order to cut down on vandalism;
- lack of parking causes a cut-down of multi-use requests;
- the office of manpower and employment (probably of particular importance during times of high unemployment) has been closed;
- workshops and studios cannot be operated at full capacity for lack of programs and staff.

53. Pontiac probably is the most ambitious project in terms of trying to overcome deep-rooted socio-economic and urban problems. In comparison, neither T.J. (with its basic two-agency co-operation) nor Dunbar (in refusing to desegregate) attempted to solve as much in such a short period of time. The question is whether this also accounts for HRC's failure as a model for the entire urban area.

Changes in Educational Content and Teaching Methodology

54. Apart from the co-ordination of different social services in the new educational and community centers, a second level of co-ordination can be found at the childhood level. In order to eliminate social differences, changes in curricula and teaching methods adapted to local needs and priorities have been established. In this context questions of size and scale of school must be seen in relationship to questions of choice and adaptability. It was assumed that only the larger organisational units would be able to provide individualised and small group instruction of the variety needed for different socio-economic background of children and parents. In the meantime, it has become clear that at the elementary school level (HRC), smaller organisational units may be more advantageous. However, this is a matter of organisation, planning and architecture in

addition to education as will be shown in the SAND Project in Hartford (see Part Two, paragraphs 123-146).

55. In all three centers, the range of specific educational programs geared to the community's needs far surpasses traditional options. Parent and children bi-lingual programs, infant care for mothers in adult education classes, the celebration of Spanish holidays, Chinese or Jewish New Year's days, ethnic cooking, etc., are only some of the more common examples of the school responding to local needs and resources. Two examples are of particular interest: the federally funded Developmental Continuity Pilot Project, carried out in Pontiac's HRC; and the Vocational Education, Infant Care and Homemaking Program in Dunbar.

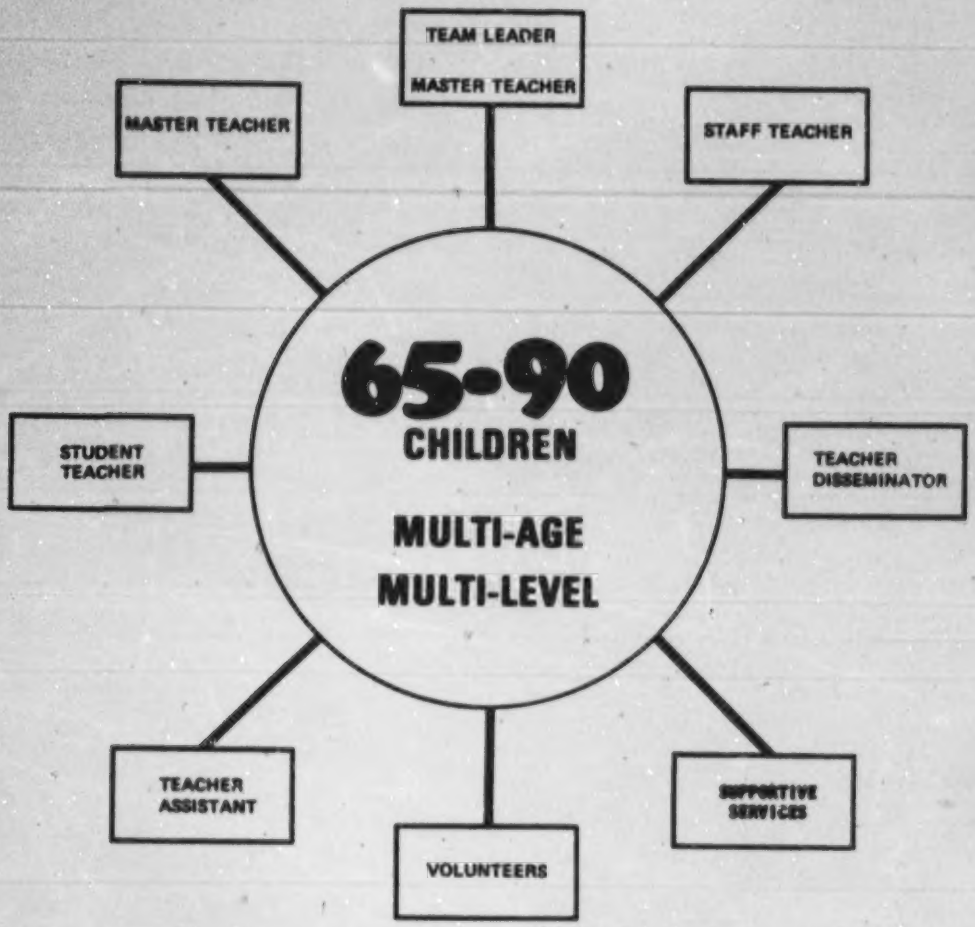
56. Parents of HRC elementary school children may choose among the following options for their children:

i) the self-contained classroom;
ii) the open classroom;
iii) project developmental continuity.

The first two options respond to the various and differing needs of children for structured or self-motivated learning. The early innovative model for team teaching (see Figure 4) is one of the results of the comprehensive and participatory planning process. The third option is the "Developmental Continuity Program". This five year pilot program, involving teachers, children, and parents and dealing with education, health, and social needs of the whole family, is one of the new thrusts which link school and community. Funded by the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare ($95 000/year), it supports a director, secretary, parent co-ordinator, health and other necessary social services. The program builds on experiences with "Head Start Programs" which were designed to alleviate at an early age the disadvantages in learning ability caused by socio-economic differences. In addition to special programs provided within the school, this pilot project includes the home and parents of a child. It serves approximately 1 100 students with an ethnic composition of 44.8% black, 40.6% latino. Forty-five minute home visits of teachers occur weekly, on a regular basis and at agreed-upon times. The home visitor instructs the parents to better utilise "desirable teaching behaviours". He also uses some activities from individualised parent-child activity kits to instruct the child while the parent observes. Parents assist the Early Childhood staff in evaluating the effectiveness of the program and participate in educational and committee work.

Figure 4

TEAM TEACHING ORGANISATION AT DANA P. WHITMER HUMAN RESOURCES CENTER IN PONTIAC, MICHIGAN



57. The infant-care and homemaking program which seems particularly geared to the problems of the Dunbar community serves pupils who have children and would normally be forced to leave without completing school. Fathers, as well as mothers, are encouraged to take part in these classes and to help in taking care of their own children, as part of their school program. A special nursery for these children and programs, designed to teach family planning, child care, health, nutrition, homemaking, etc.,

PEB Secretariat

Celebration of fêtes and art education are closely linked with the ethnic and cultural background of the neighbourhood at Pontiac as well as Dunbar.

serves this group of pupils. Out of twelve pupils who have completed school instead of dropping out, seven have received a scholarship for higher education, four have permanent jobs, and one got married. None of the mothers had a second child.

58. Vocational training in the Dunbar High School and Community Center has been planned from the outset with local industrialists and institutions (e.g. the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore was consulted for the education of health occupation specialists and for curriculum development; and the electronics classroom has been designed and equipped with the help of Western Electric). Another principle which has been established in view of the special problems in the Dunbar community is that no pupil fails. They may take different lengths of time to achieve particular tasks,

but the ungraded home base system allows the greatest possible flexibility in terms of learning style and speed.

Architecture and Urban Design

59. In each of the three cases discussed in this section, the original impetus for the co-ordination of various social services came from the necessity for new educational facilities. The practical decisions which had to be taken in terms of programming for the centers probably hastened the process of re-organisation and co-ordination at the administrative level considerably. Problems on this level are often considered more important by the user than architectural and technical problems which seem to range at the very end of the priority scale - mainly after the facility has been built. However, a comparison of the architectural solutions, found in each of the three cases, proves that the urban design and architectural solution may well be a help or hindrance to the goal of co-operation and shared or joint use of the facility. Of particular importance are:

a) location and accessibility;
b) overlap and proximity of various uses; and
c) materials and detail.

a) Location and Accessibility

60. More than traditional schools, the educational and community center which is meant to become a focus for community life and regeneration needs to be visible and accessible. Its location, therefore, is of critical importance in respect to its multi-use functions. Both Dunbar and to an even greater extent HRC realise this new demand in providing public thoroughfares or pedestrian links, not only across the site, but also through the building. Dunbar's fountain forum, situated between the new high school and community center, elementary school, day care center and health center, enjoys heavy use during the summer when it becomes a major focus of community life (see Figure 5).

61. In the HRC, community facilities and pedestrian link are situated on the upper level and school facilities below. The pedestrian street - beautifully lit, open and inviting - never quite became the center of urban life envisaged by the architects, due to the lack of residential and commercial density at either end. The scale of the large building,

Figure 5

SITE PLAN OF PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR HIGH SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CENTER IN BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

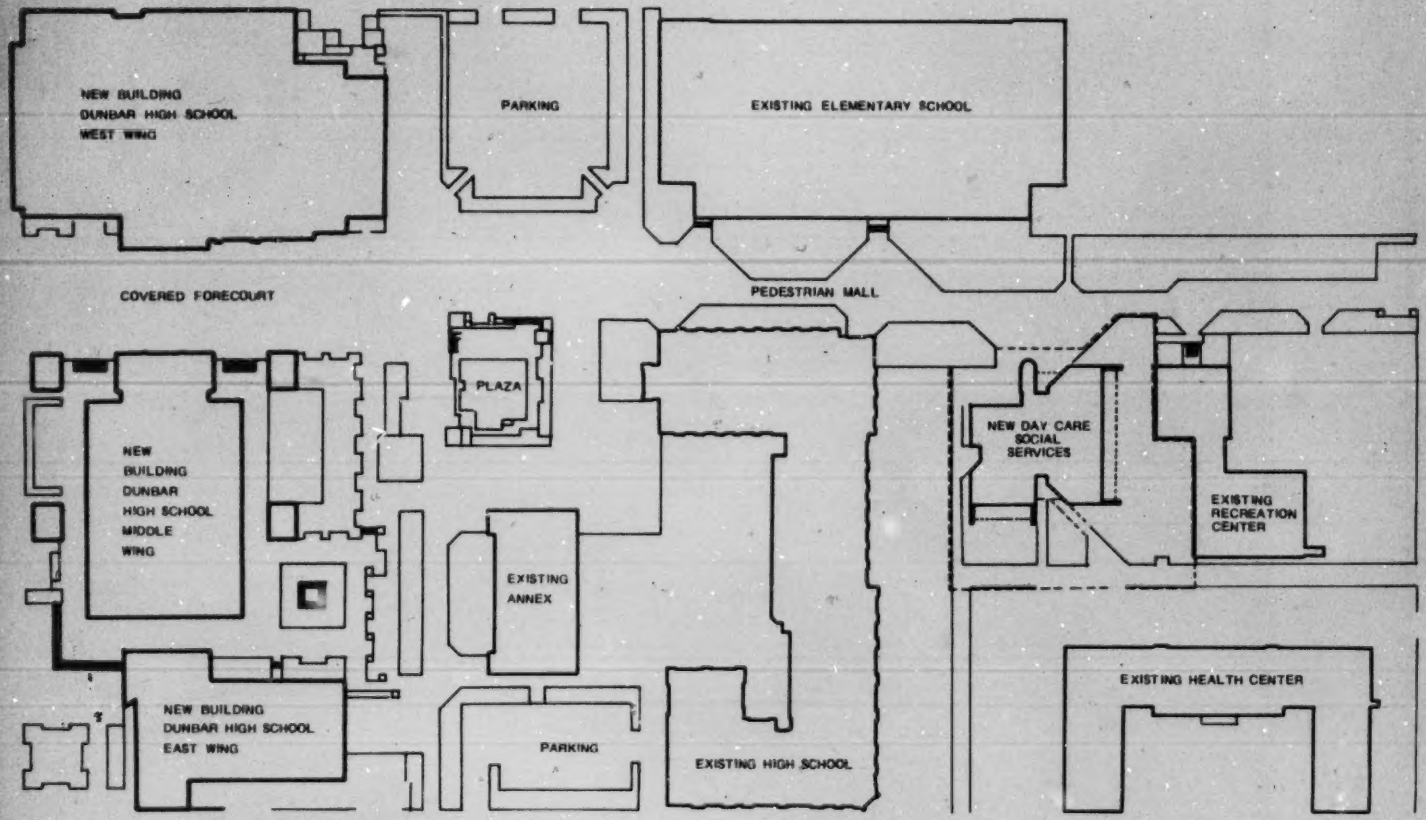
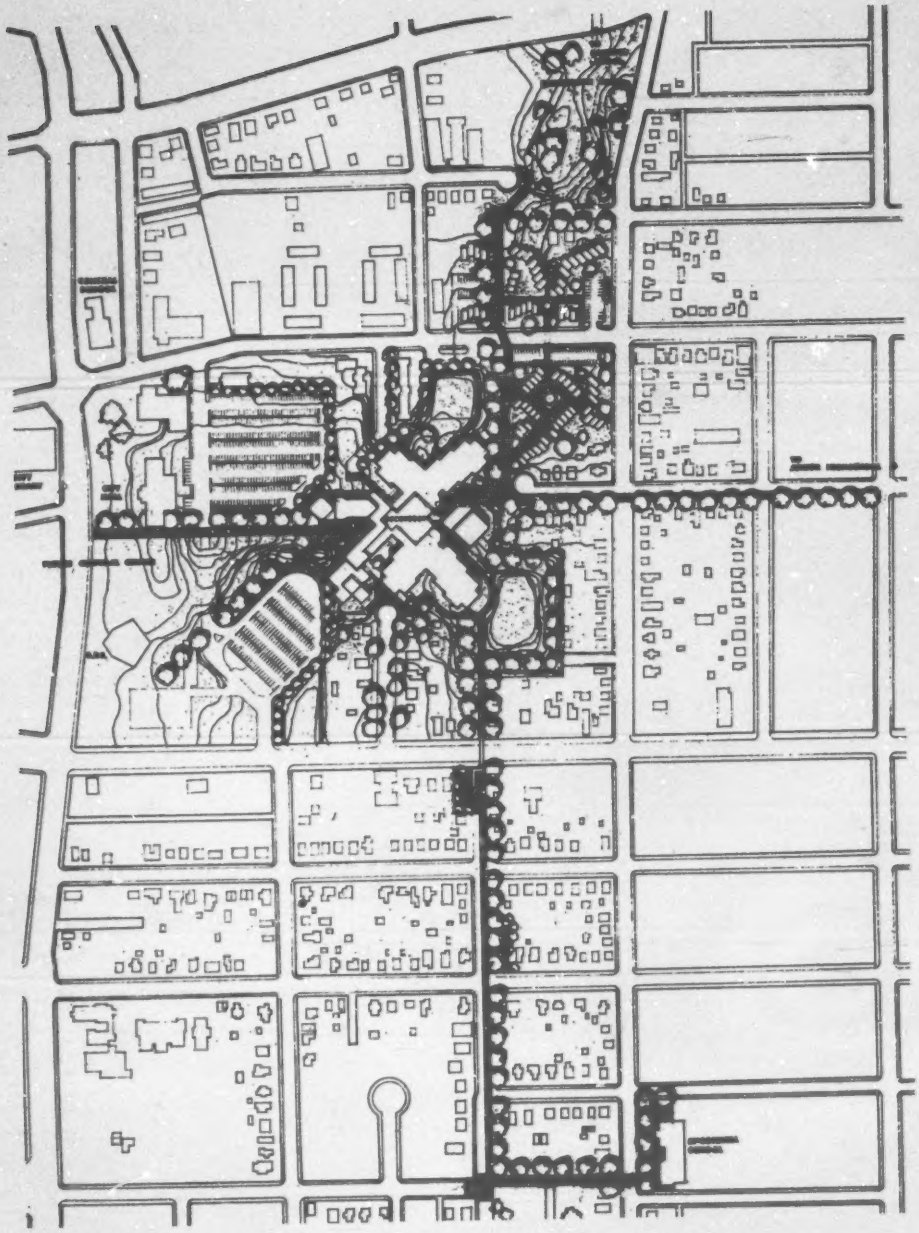
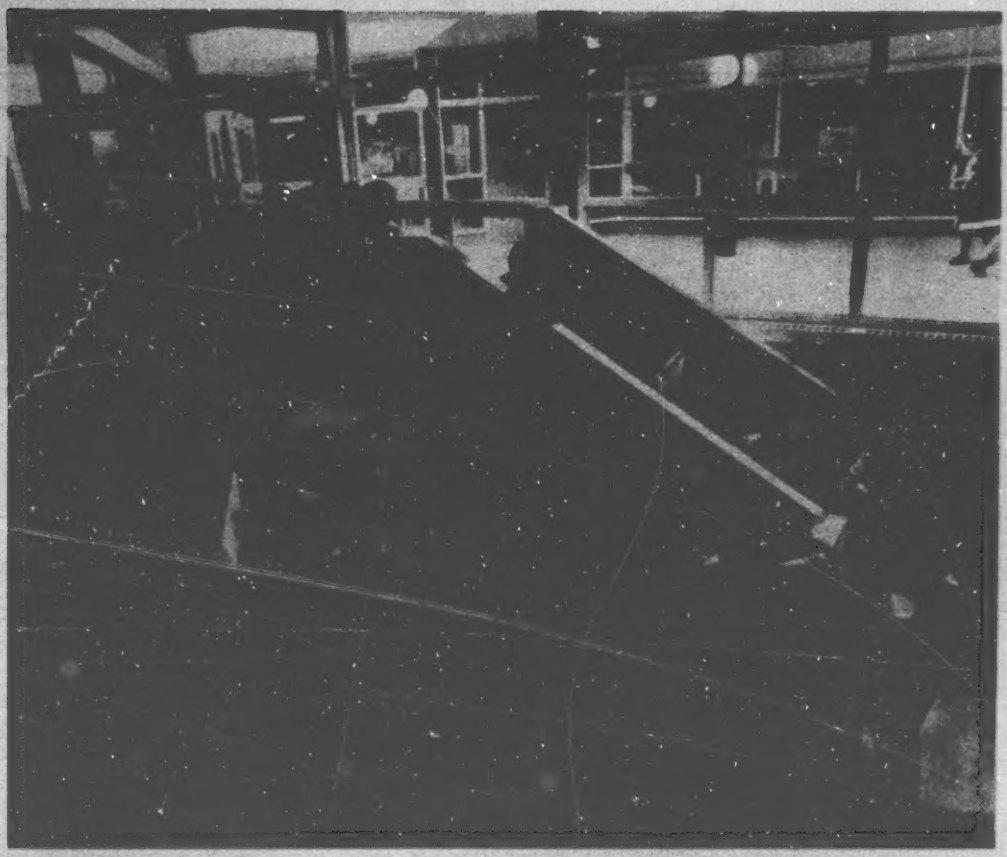


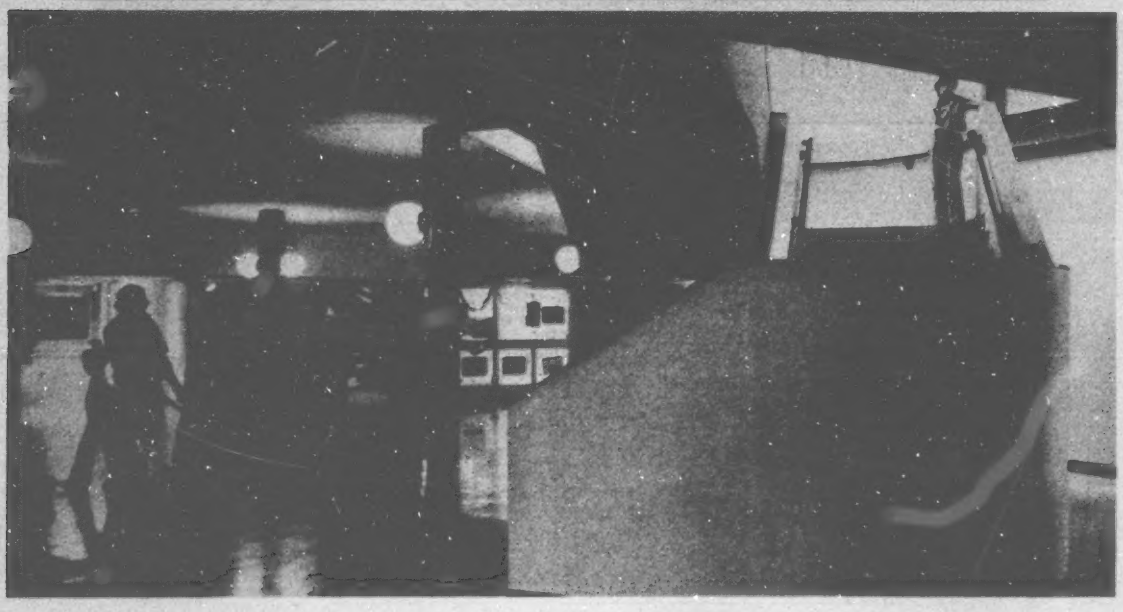
Figure 6

SITE PLAN OF DANA P. WHITMER
HUMAN RESOURCES CENTER IN PONTIAC, MICHIGAN





Balthazar Korab

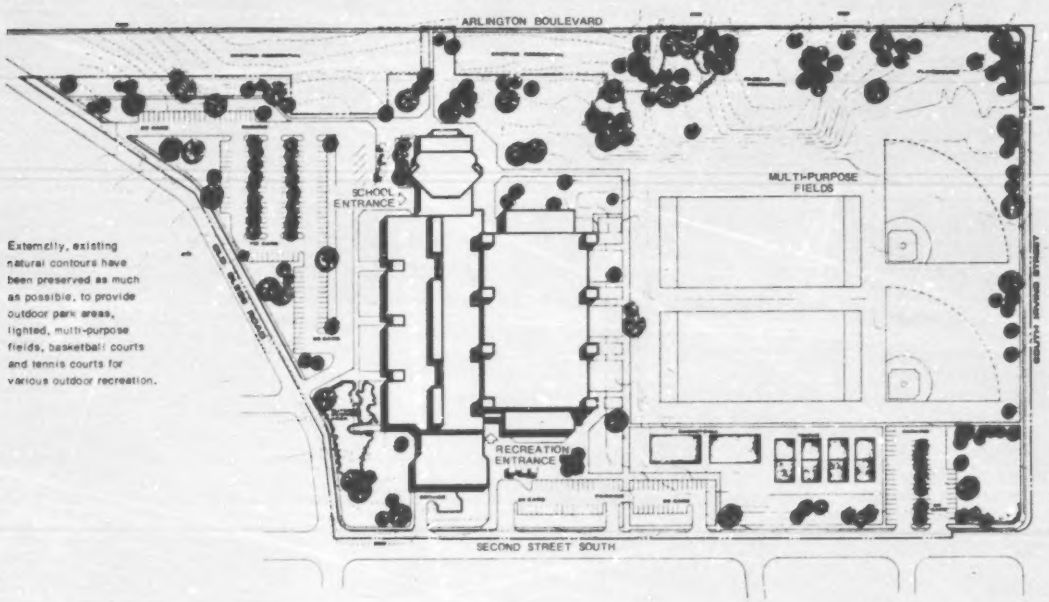


The pedestrian street on the upper level intersects with the school street on the ground floor.

however, at the seam between large central city administrative buildings and the small single family houses of the neighbourhood, agrees with both. A network of pedestrian links from the neighbourhood to the center enhances pedestrian access (see Figure 6). However, the lack of parking facilities effectively prevents the multi-use of the facility. Occasional conference gatherings which eliminated all parking areas for teachers and personnel, are no longer allowed in the facilities (mainly the theatre or the cafetorium) during the day (for the site plan of T.J. see Figure 7).

Figure 7

SITE PLAN OF THOMAS JEFFERSON JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CENTER, ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA


ARLINGTON BOULEVARD
SCHOOL ENTRANCE
MULTI-PURPOSE FIELDS
Externally, existing natural contours have been preserved as much as possible, to provide outdoor park areas, lighted, multi-purpose fields, basketball courts and tennis courts for various outdoor recreation.
RECREATION ENTRANCE
SECOND STREET SOUTH

b) Overlap and Proximity of Various Uses

62. Characteristic for the architectural programming and design of the large new educational and community centers was the opportunity to create overlap and integration instead of a clean separation of functions. The extent to which this opportunity could be seized, however, depended heavily on the number and kind of future uses and users. The description of integrated and co-operating community services (Table 3) shows that the HRC and Dunbar are somewhat similar in the complexity of services offered while T.J. has a less complex or varied structure. This applies to funding, programming and physical structure. In terms of programming "shared use", however, T.J. seems to get the most out of its facilities simply because educational and recreational uses are highly compatible and it is easier to co-ordinate two rather than a dozen agencies. From the very beginning,

a schedule/plan diagram for T.J. (see Figure 8) linked the areas of the school and recreational complex to the time, use and categories of users between 7 a.m. and 9 p.m. daily. This type of diagram simply does not exist for the other centers.

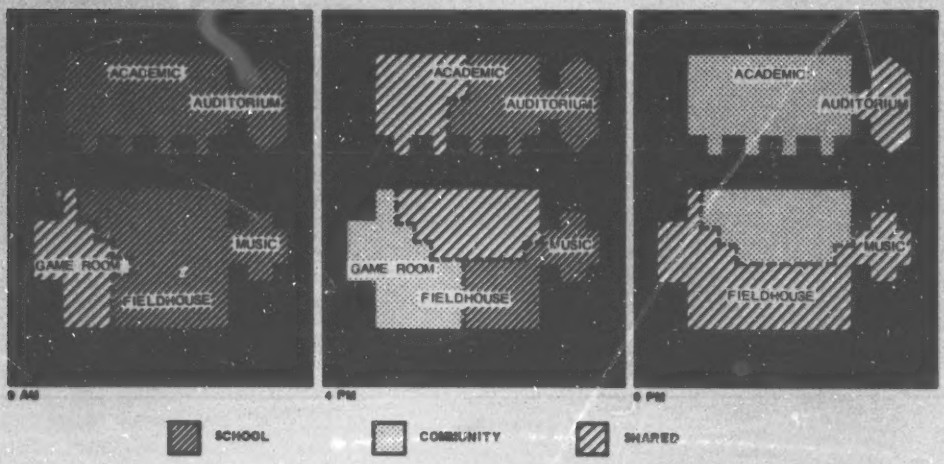
63. For the HRC there is a diagram showing the complex and differentiated links between school, social agencies, and common or multi-use areas, but they are not linked to time or special user groups. Thus sharing may happen, but it is not as tightly programmed into the layout as at T.J. With a more complex and numerous set of uses, the HRC has been designed as a network of urban spaces. Theatre, exhibition spaces, cafetorium, public restaurant, adult education, library, medical suite, community offices, counselling, school administration, the motor lab and gymnasium/community fieldhouse are accessible and open to the central pedestrian link between the residential neighbourhood on one side and the city center on the other (see Figure 9). In this way, the usual pattern of grouping the most public functions at the periphery facing the community has been reversed. The most public places are situated in the center of the building complex, while the quiet and educational functions on the ground floor face the residential neighbourhood which surrounds the site on three sides.

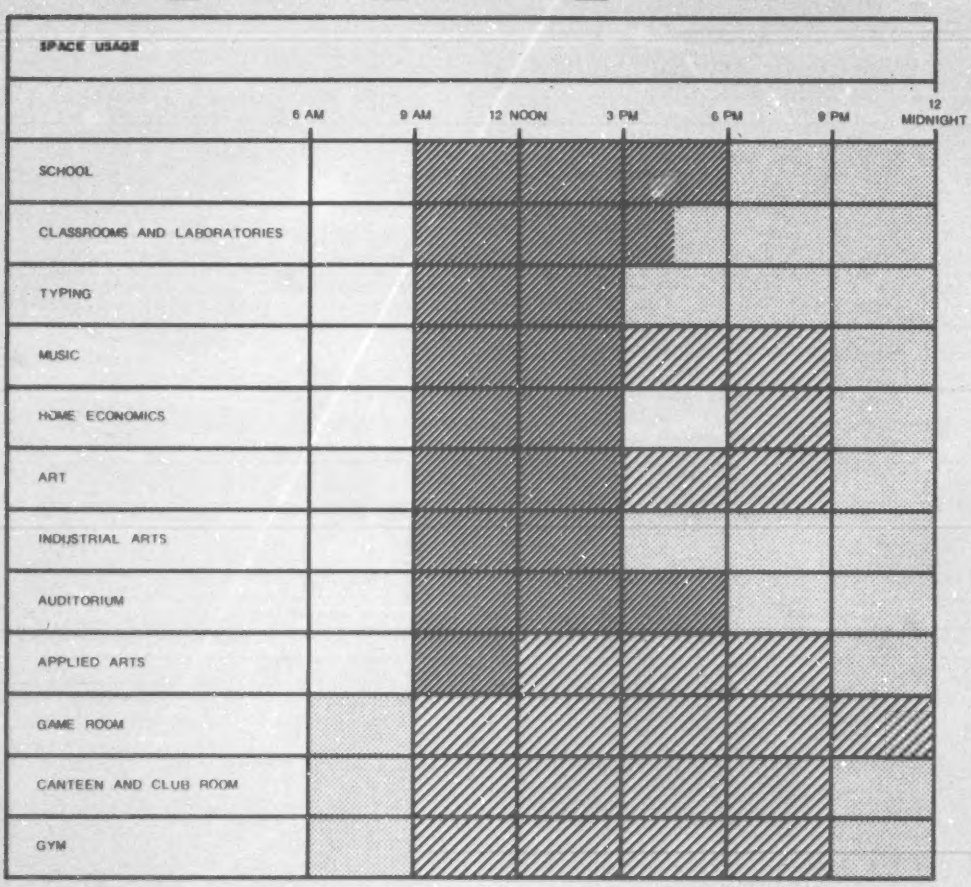
64. The relationship between formerly separated functions is close. Only separated by windows, administrative and community offices are open to the public and passers-by. The importance of whether people can see each other can best be demonstrated, as often, through a "negative" example. During recent times of high unemployment, the community center's employment office became too small and the unemployed - often drunk, smoking dope, and exhibiting other less socially respectable behavioural patterns - used corridors and waiting areas open to public view. The offices' final move to another site in the city certainly could not be attributed exclusively to the lack of facilities, but served to eliminate the continuous display to elementary school children of an undesirable societal failure. If the architect had decided to follow a more traditional pattern, largely separating social services and educational spaces, as in the case of Dunbar, removing this office might not have been necessary.

65. In Dunbar, where one separate ground floor wing accommodates all community services, the only connection to the educational spaces on the three upper levels is the same main entrance (see pages 52-55). The community and social services wing (which in contrast to HRC is separated from pedestrian thoroughfares by the main entrance, another door, a guard and sign-in procedures) contains not only City Hall offices, Model Cities (public housing) offices, a bank and various youth, welfare and health

Figure 8

DIAGRAM OF SPACE USAGE FOR THE THOMAS JEFFERSON JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CENTER IN ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA

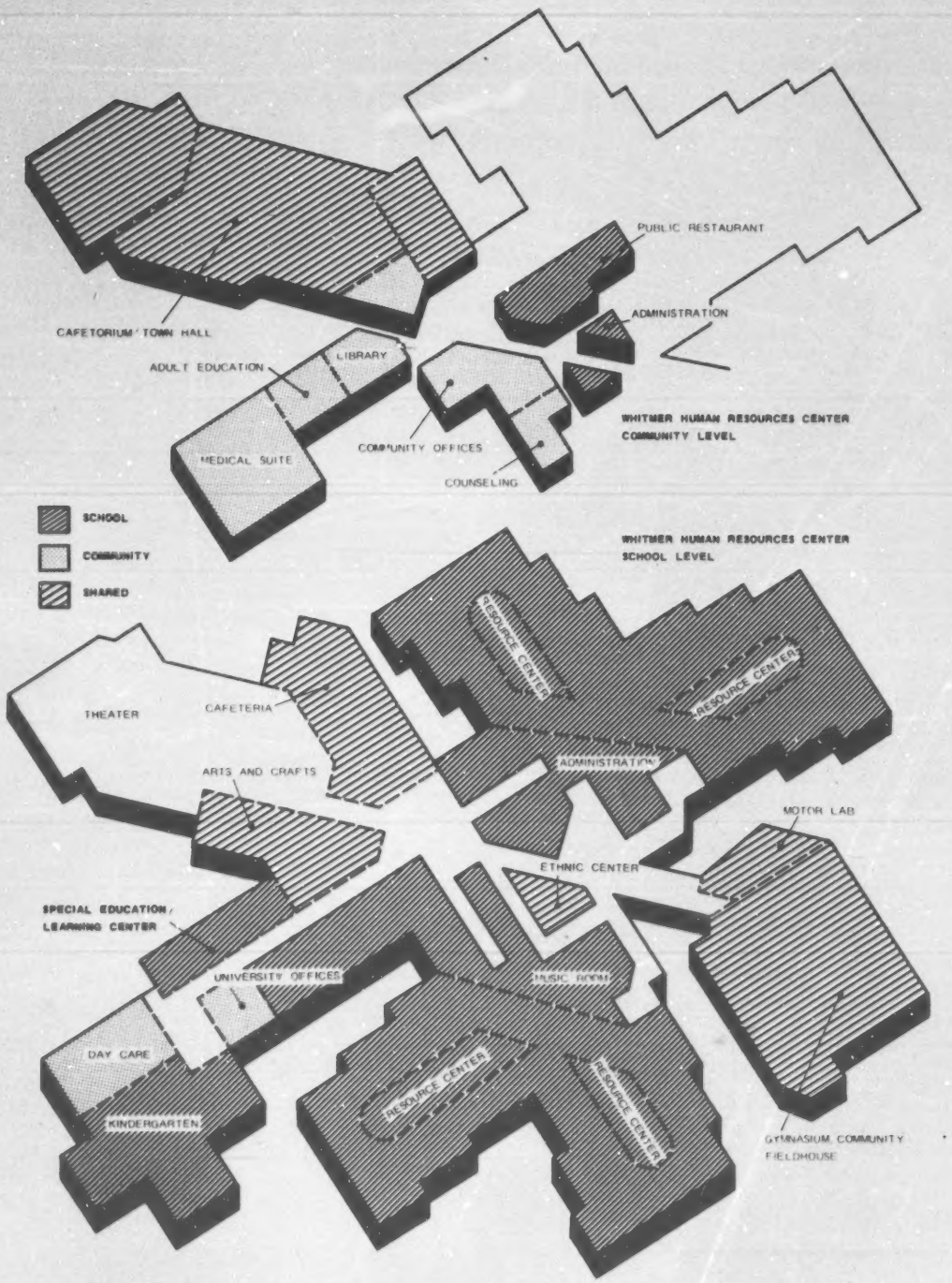




Source : Community/School : Sharing the Space and the Action, Educational Facilities Laboratories Inc., New York, 1973, page 67.

Figure 9

DIAGRAMMATIC PRESENTATION OF THE DANA P. WHITMER HUMAN RESOURCES CENTER IN PONTIAC, MICHIGAN



Source : Community/ School : Sharing the Space and the Action, Educational Facilities Laboratories Inc., New York, 1973, page 65.

agencies, but also an office for parole and probation which serves the community. All agency staff, interviewed during the 1976 visit, seemed to be pleased with the physical proximity to each other which they perceive as enhancing social contacts and communication among participants. "Sharing spaces" is not an issue as all agencies have their own offices and territories. Apart from these, they use the theatre or lecture halls for occasional gatherings.

66. Comparing the ways in which overlap and proximity have been designed in the three centers, a continuum between closely integrated/highly compatible uses to close but separated less compatible uses begins to emerge. On one side of the continuum, T.J. with its education/recreation overlap can be placed. The HRC would range somewhere in the middle but nearer to Dunbar with its highly complex and (from a traditional point of view) somewhat less compatible uses.

c) Materials and Detail

67. Apart from functional criteria, such as sufficient parking spaces and accessibility of publicly used areas, the quality of detail, lighting, warmth of colours and textures and vistas through different spaces are of far greater importance in the new centers than in traditional schools. Better quality and hard wearing materials which will stand heavy use, and the need for additional foyer spaces, toilets and storage rooms, usually add to capital costs but also add to the feasibility of opening the school to various age groups and users.

68. In contrast, the high cost flexibility - movable partitions, blackboards and bookshelves - provided in HRC's, Dunbar's and T.J's instructional areas are hardly ever used (as in many other new and large schools planned for on-going change). More successful are open learning areas with their variety of levels, colours, textures and vistas, simulating small scale plazas, corners and niches. Thus, relatively large areas achieve a human scale and personal atmosphere. An example for the importance of warm colours and textures, as well as comfortable seating, in multi-use areas is the heavily used theatre in the HRC with its brick walls and red and brown textile covered chairs. In comparison, the cafetorium, also built for multi-use, but featuring white walls and plastic chairs, is very much underutilised. A new idea now, in order to make it more attractive is to decorate its walls with Walt Disney figures.

Economic Considerations

69. Economic reasons are those most often cited for combining educational, social, cultural and recreational services in multi-use facilities. More

specific descriptions of how savings occur, are hard to come by. A fiscal analysis containing a reappraisal of original cost estimates and stating reasons for sharing facilities in the light of today's experience, is available only for one of the three centers - the HRC in Pontiac, where the joint financing of an educational and community facility was the first to combine local and federal resources. In fact, state legislation had to be changed in order to make it possible for Pontiac to receive a grant from the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

70. In an unpublished draft report, prepared for the Educational Facilities Laboratories in New York in November 1975, the question was asked: What did Pontiac get in return for an expenditure of $5,568,014 of its funds? Or put differently, what were the cost/benefits of this investment of educational funds?

"1) On the simplest level, it received a grant from three levels of government amounting to $1 863 165.

2) For an investment of $729 133 of its own funds, it received $1 458 265 from the Federal Government.

3) By combining a school and a community center, it was able to arrange a sharing of 46 025 sq. ft. of space.

4) If Pontiac had built separate facilities, not all of this 46 025 sq. ft. would, of course, have to have been duplicated in each structure. From this analysis, the net savings of the building area is ± 8 000 sq. ft. (7 706). To this savings must be added the cost of additional land. Assuming the school site area would remain at 17 acres for a separate facility, the area for a community facility would demand 1-1/2 acres, plus 1/2 acre for parking. The net savings then becomes:

Building:	8 000 sq. ft. x $37.20/sq. ft.	$297 600
Site:	2 acres at $41 400	82 800
Savings by combining facilities		$380 400

Approached this way, the savings are very substantial, approximately 6% of the combined facility "construction" costs.

5) One answer to the question, then, of what Pontiac gained by its approach is that it (a) acquired a Community Center worth at least $2 178 000 for an expenditure of $729 000; and (b) by combining the school and community facilities, it saved more than $380 000 over what it would have cost were these built separately."(1)

1) Pontiac Human Resources Center, "Fiscal Analysis", unpublished draft for the Educational Facilities Laboratories, November 1975, pages 9-10.

71. The author then proceeds to analyse the cost/benefits from the narrower point of view of the school. In using a one time planning figure of 2 200 pupils for the elementary school he arrives at the conclusion that community facilities have substantially decreased space allocation for school use. This point certainly would be a serious one if 400 children were denied access to a modern facility because of excessive community facilities. In view of a present school population of 1 200 pupils and fast declining enrolments, this is a somewhat futile discussion. It shows, however, that the question of trade-offs (e.g. what gains the school gets for sharing its space) is indeed an important one and remains largely subjective as long as social benefits cannot be measured accurately. "It should be noted that no rental income accrues to the school district for the use of the community facilities in Pontiac. Whether or not this represents a loss of income depends on whether one looks at the school budget in isolation or as a unit of the larger local public expenditure budget. For Pontiac as a city-wide fiscal entity, a no-rent policy for the Center represents a decision not to 'bother' with a transfer item from one city department or departments to another. To the extent that private social agencies are involved, it implies an indirect public subsidy."(1)

72. The financing arrangement for Dunbar stipulates that social service agencies rent spaces from the Board of Education as proprietor of the facility. They are otherwise independent. A third alternative has been chosen for T.J. After school bonds ($4 150 000) and recreation bonds ($2 500 000) were authorised in a referendum by the voters and subsequently joined, no additional federal, state, or foundation moneys were utilised as capital funds. In order to finance operating costs, "annual appropriations are made from tax sources and rental receipt into a 'Community Activity Fund' which is managed by the school board and covers all of the plant operational expense for the combined facility. This technique avoids the inflation of school or recreational costs and reduces the bookkeeping for back-charging proportionate shares. This budget is reviewed by a citizens' committee, the school board, and the county board before appropriations are made for it."(2)

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1) "Fiscal Analysis", op.cit., page 14.

2) Joseph Ringers, Jr., "Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center", unpublished paper, 1976, page 6.

NEW USES FOR EMPTY SCHOOLS

73. In view of new economic and demographic constraints it might be said that the time of the large purpose-built community/school in the United States is over. The school building tasks of this decade will be renovation, re-use and rebuilding of existing schools, additions and a few new buildings. The differences in the co-ordination of educational and community facilities in the 60's and the 70's are marked:

- the starting point of all purpose-built community/school centers in the 60's was the lack of educational facilities and other social services; the starting point for developing community uses in existing schools today is a surplus of space;
- while there was a strong emphasis on the co-ordinated planning and programming with agencies, experts, and users for the purpose-built community/school center, the re-use of existing facilities depends largely on the organisational ability of the principal, community co-ordinator, or facility manager to attract new uses.

74. The first approach was characterised by a search for the right combination of uses beforehand. The second relies on finding new uses afterwards. In the 60's "comprehensive and long-range plans" dominated in educational planning. But although it was known for a number of years that enrolments would decline in the 70's, there was no effective long-range plan to deal with the problem of empty schools. While there were sizeable grants for planning in the 60's and millions of dollars for the implementation of new co-ordinated facilities, economic resources today have decreased to such an extent that there often is a lack of funding for even the most moderate structural changes or renovation of existing facilities. The most necessary first step to achieve co-ordination in the 60's seemed to be the new integrated facility; today the only necessary expense, in most of the cases studied, seems to be the salary of one person to co-ordinate volunteer efforts and new groups using the school.

75. In 1974, Educational Facilities Laboratories (EFL) in New York published a report called "Fewer Pupils Surplus Space". It consisted of demographic projections indicating clearly that the time of quantitative expansion and growth in the field of school building in the United States was over. It also suggested a few ways in which to handle the problems of declining school populations and empty schools. Two years later EFL is preparing to issue a new report called "Fewer Pupils, Surplus Space, New Uses". It deals with the reactions of the 14 500 school

districts in the United States to the problems of declining enrolments and financial resources, using data collected in a 1975-76 telephone and mail survey. In order to see the extent of the problem some typical examples to show the diversity of solutions and two particular cases - Wharton, New Jersey and Mount Holly, New Jersey - will be described in this section.

Extent of the Problem

76. The decrease in enrolments is based on many factors. Although the decline of the school population accounts for the majority of empty classrooms, the out-migration of the white middle class from the inner city to the suburbs has not been halted and further reduces the number of pupils in many inner city schools. A third reason which has had severe consequences in many school districts throughout the United States, following the recent economic crisis, has been the closing of plants, factories, and business establishments.

77. The school in the United States is both historically, and up to the present time, the community meeting ground. This becomes more obvious as fewer people are willing to accept unilateral governmental actions directed at closing school facilities which are not needed anymore. Similar to the early American frontier settlements, the community function of the school often seems to become as important as the educational function.

> In Houston, Texas, 15 schools with less than 200 students could not be closed by the Board of Education as parents went rioting in the streets, thus demonstrating that the value of the school as a community facility has been recognised beyond its original educational function.
>
> In addition to shrinking student numbers, the closing of the Boeing plants in Seattle, Washington resulted in a drop of 6 000 students in one year. A parent initiative caused the Washington State Court to call a moratorium on all school closings until a five year study had been done on how to use the surplus space.

78. The growing concern for the elderly causes many school districts to team up with social services agencies in the use of empty school spaces. Adult education classes, special enrichment programs, arts and career education courses are the most frequented and favoured uses for surplus space.

The Whittier Elementary School in Austin, Minnesota, with nine classrooms and a gym/multi-purpose room, has been converted to a senior citizen recreation center open seven days a week. Use of the rooms encompasses arts and crafts and adult education classes. The recreation center has been operating for four years and has over a thousand members. Renovations and improvements on the building were done through a vocational/technical school on the basis of an on-site learning experience. Materials were furnished by the senior citizens. The Board of Education provides the building and all maintenance and operating costs.

In Pickett, Wisconsin, a group of citizens purchased a school by selling shares of $10.00 a piece. The newer parts of the school are now being used for a senior citizens' center, a youth center, a nursery school, and vocational classes. The older parts have been rented to generate revenue which will meet the operational costs.

79. In all states, public school districts are now obliged to provide free public education for every handicapped child from 3-21 years of age. Similar to Scandinavian models, the law requires that as many handicapped children as possible attend their neighbourhood schools:

Against the Board of Education's plan, parents in Jackson, Mississippi chose a half-empty school which was the most accessible for their handicapped children.

The town of Sioux Center, Iowa, bought an empty junior/senior high school from the school district for $200 000. The city then leased two floors of the building to a state education agency serving the handicapped. (Other uses of the building include the creation of a museum with the help of the state bicentennial grant and the leasing of the gymnasium to community groups.)

80. To keep a large school closed the Board of Education has to pay about $3 000 per year in minimum maintenance costs. Often the Board will therefore rent out the space, as long as the income covers maintenance costs.

Nashville, Tennessee, has closed eight school plants. All but one has been made available to government agencies. One was sold for $1.5 million dollars; two have been utilised by the health department; others have been leased by the metropolitan parks department, the police department and an action committee. Two high schools in

the inner city were changed to accommodate adult education.

While new schools are being built in more and more distant suburban locations, inner city schools are empty and more and more frequently bulldozed (Atlanta, Chicago, New York, Detroit and Boston).

81. Desegregation plans often run as counter-forces to community education in that children are being bussed across school district boundaries while community school programs are being set up for their families in the neighbourhood school. Here the practical consequences of a social goal at the national level are clearly in conflict with objectives at the local level. Despite all efforts to desegregate, the white middle class still moves to the suburbs.

> In New York between 1974 and 1976 forty-three schools (some newly renovated) were closed. For none of these could alternative uses be found.

These are just a few examples chosen to demonstrate the extent of the problem and the diversity of directions taken in various states and communities in order to cope with it. The two following examples for the use of surplus space, in Wharton, New Jersey, and Mount Holly, New Jersey, provide a more in-depth analysis of districts where old school buildings now serve a variety of community uses.

Wharton, New Jersey

82. Wharton, New Jersey is a small town of 6 000 inhabitants and 5-6 major industries of which glass and wallpaper manufacturing are the largest. It is comprised of 1 800 families which are primarily lower middle-class white. 850 children between 1st and 8th grade are educated in two local elementary schools, 80 children in a private catholic school. 400 children of high school age attend a high school outside the community.

83. Having been replaced by a new facility, the old Curtis Elementary School, built in the 1920's and located on a hill next to the public library, was closed and put up for sale from September 1974 to May 1975. The Board of Education's intention was to sell it for the nominal fee of $1 to the municipality. The municipality, however, refused to buy it. Finally, it went up for public auction and got the highest offer ($40 000) from a private bidder who wanted to convert the building into apartments. At this point, a group of citizens, supported by a survey of community needs which they had launched to demonstrate the lack of recreational

programs, demanded that the building, which had been built with public funds, be returned to public use to become a community center. 320 out of 380 respondents were in favour of a community education program. The group of citizens consisting of three mothers, the catholic school principal, a business man, and several teachers, pressured the Board of Education into hiring a community co-ordinator. They now serve as the community center's advisory board.

84. Without a clear job description, the Board of Education advertised the job, and found Kevin Touhey, a young college graduate with a degree in urban and outdoor recreation, who came from the area, understood its problems and spoke the language of its people. There were, however, still problems. state funds were not available to match the community co-ordinator's salary of $900 per month, since his educational background did not comply with state regulations. No performance budget was available for financing programs. Nonetheless, Touhey developed the program and got the center started. One year later, the former school was operating as a community center from 10.00 a.m. to 10.00 p.m. five days a week.

85. Using a Madison Avenue approach to advertising to inform people about his intentions and need for help and support for operating the community, Touhey:

- used slide shows in supermarkets;
- distributed leaflets in dentists' offices and stores;
- sent out personal invitations to use the building; and
- got newspapers to publish ads and feature stories, such as this one:

"Wharton Teens Find Home Away from Home

Teenagers have been flocking into the Wharton Community School Teen Center in droves since its opening two weeks ago. Over 225 teenagers have paid $1 for an admission card good for one year. Activities available at the center include swimming, pin-pong, air hockey, cards, TV, and the use of the gym.

A big favourite at the center is the juke box with a complete selection of the current rock and country hits.

The center is open Tuesday and Friday evenings for high school students and Monday evenings for students in grades 6 through 8."

Still, Touhey said: "The response was very slow". But the most difficult problem was raising sufficient funds to run the programs.

86. He organised marathon basketball games and other sports events. Using the basement of the school, he got the Drug Abuse Council to pay for a supervisor and game tables to establish a positive alternative to taking drugs. Since he organised a health fair with the Parents and Teachers' Association (PTA), the Women's Fire Auxiliary, the Rotary Club, and the County Health Department, he serves on the municipality's Board of Health. He got the Morris County College to pay for a "student at work" study program to staff several programs. The Rotary Club paid for the materials of the Christmas Eve Program, the PTA runs films on Friday nights which are free and an asset to a community which has no local theatre. As dictated by necessity and philosophy, users had to shape their own rooms. Groups that wanted a room on a permanent basis (like the Girl Scouts, Cub Scouts, the business association, and pre-school) brought their own paint, carpets, and furniture. Other furniture items were donated by local businesses or citizens. "Community participation", Touhey found, "is a gradual work-up".

87. The Community Center is open for ad hoc uses like parties, theatre groups, games groups, etc. However, a very clear list of priorities puts education (in fact school) uses first. In addition to the old school, the program also uses the new elementary school's workshops and sports facilities. It opens on weekends only on special requests as there is no janitor. Children from other school districts, wanting to use the facility, pay a nominal fee.

88. The community education budget of $20 800 ($10 800 for the community co-ordinator and $10 000 for maintenance) is part of the total school budget and has not been passed by the voters as a separate issue. Funds for adult education programs, high school completion, and vocational training come from the state. However, since community interests are directed more towards recreational programs, Touhey has actively sought the co-operation and financial support of the municipal government. This has not been achieved so far. The statistics, nevertheless, point to a substantial increase in recreational activities, the number of users as well as the variety of programs:

- arts and crafts (126 users);
- dancing and drama (41 users);
- clubs (148 users);
- group activities (162 users);
- sports and games (340 users).

Future plans: both Touhey's contract with the Board of Education and the state grant to hire a custodian run out in 1976. What will happen to the program if none of the contracts are renewed remains open.

89. Although the old building seems to be well liked by its new clientele, Touhey would rather operate a small, purpose-built community center annex to the new school. There are too many administrative difficulties in running parallel community programs in the distant new and old schools with only one co-ordinator. By renting out the old building to interested commercial and governmental groups, some funds would be available to pay for a community center near the new school. Thus, the facility aspect remains an unresolved problem in this case, due to the location of the new facility and the lack of funds to re-build certain parts or add others.

Mount Holly, New Jersey

90. Mount Holly, the county seat of Burlington County and central city of the area, has a beautifully preserved colonial core which is listed in the national register for historic preservation. Since there is no industry for three square miles, its 13 000 residents, mostly lower middle and middle-class, pay the highest property taxes in the state of New Jersey. Minorities account for 16% of the population. Mount Holly features a council manager form of government, in which five elected representatives hire a manager who is responsible for the day to day operations of the municipal government. It is an aging community with a steadily declining school population. In the grades K-8 (from Kindergarten to the 8th year inclusive) - not counting high school pupils - the number of pupils dropped from 2 154 in 1965 to 1 688 in 1975.

91. The old high school which was replaced by a new facility first served as an elementary school but then was abandoned because it did not comply with fire regulations and "looked old". As in the Wharton case, a citizen group, the Junior Women's League of Mount Holly, was instrumental in creating community interest for acquiring the "old school". They wanted to use the empty school as a teenage center. The reason was that the township in 1970 had established an anti-loitering ordinance and there was no place for teenagers to go. In contrast to Wharton, the municipal government of Mount Holly acquired the building from the Board of Education, a separately elected public agency, for $1. They also established a Department of Parks and Recreation and hired the town's first full time professional, Donald Plucinski, as Department Director. Part of his responsibility was to work with local civic organisations and to utilise the old school. This was not an easy task. Built in 1912 as a model high

school, (the largest in New Jersey, with 25 000 sq. ft. of space including the first indoor gymnasium) the school had been vacant for nearly three years. Windows were broken, pipes had frozen and burst, and most of the building had been vandalised.

92. In the first year, the new director had no funds to cover operation and maintenance costs. He gradually got more and more groups to join the Community Center. Among the first groups to join were the Women's League, the Burlington County Art Guild, the American Legion Auxiliary, the Mount Holly Bridge Club, and the Senior Citizens. Donald Plucinski, now Superintendent of Parks and Recreation, claims that it took two years to overcome community apathy. Today, after five years, he operates with a budget of $180 000. There are over 35 organisations meeting in the center which also sponsors a comprehensive recreation program. The Community Center offers eleven meeting rooms, two kitchens, two lounges, an auditorium, a gymnasium, a game room for teenagers, and a room for small children, besides housing the Parks and Recreation office, and temporarily, the city's police department and housing agency while their offices are being renovated.

93. A realistic estimate of what it cost to renovate the school building is hardly possible because of the amount of volunteer work that went into it. Plucinski reckons he paid $ 1 500 for glass alone, $2 000 for plumbing, and $5 000 to repair the heating. Salaries for maintenance men now on the staff payroll come to $10 000 per year. Donations included: furniture, equipment, carpets, and air-conditioning units. If the renovations had been done by paid labour, the total costs would have been about $75 000. In 1975 four leisure service accounts totalling $130 37 were provided for recreation by various agencies. The following is a breakdown;

Community Center	24 992
Parks	47 742
Recreation	48 541
Public events	9 100

Of the utility and maintenance costs:

20% comes out of the recreation program;
40% comes from Mount Holly taxpayers;
35% comes from non-profit groups from other towns, churches, etc;
5% comes from profit-making groups.

94. The objective of the programs is to provide recreation opportunities for all ages. And co-operation between the public schools and the Recreation Department is close without formal ties. Gymnasiums and arts and crafts areas are used by recreation programs in all the schools during non-school hours free of charge. The Recreation Department only pays custodial charges. In the choice of the groups who may use the schools in Mount Holly, the Recreation Department is given first priority. In addition to renovating the Community Center and providing it with new uses, Plucinski also initiated two playgrounds on school sites in low income areas, a 33-acre park (with federal and state grants) and the rehabilitation of three existing parks. The Recreation Superintendent sees himself as a designer of alternatives. His priority is to provide for leisure time activities and civic groups. Radical political or religious groups, however, are excluded from use of the Community Center.

95. The programs initiated in the Recreation Department in Mount Holly today attract 48,000 users per year or about 4 800 per month. The program is more recreation centered than the Wharton program. The 1975-76 Fall/ Winter Program featured sports and games, a fine-arts program, special activities, and regular meetings in the center for teenagers and the junior high center. After-school activities to supervise boys and girls are arranged three afternoons a week in the Center, and the Bridge Club, Chess Club, Table Tennis Groups, and Special Recreation for the Handicapped meet once a week. Senior citizens have their own clubroom.

96. Mount Holly, in contrast to Wharton, has invested and changed its old school to fit new programs and needs. It proves that carpets and colour, new kitchen and toilet facilities, plus additional furniture and equipment create a suitable environment for community clubrooms, offices, and meeting spaces. The two examples also show that both the Board of Education and the municipal government are capable of supporting recreational programs. However, since such programs generally come under the municipal responsibilities, the Wharton case, in which the center is run by the Board of Education, will remain the exception rather than the rule. In view of the large number of new examples, it seems that the community/school movement in the United States has weathered the federal freeze on construction and economic decline, partly through innovative use of existing and empty facilities.

Part Two

CO-ORDINATION ON A CITY-WIDE SCALE

SUMMARY

97. So far the present report has dealt mainly with single projects in which school and community facilities have been co-ordinated, and within this range with two extreme solutions: the large purpose-built center and the opposite recent trend towards utilising empty schools. In Part Two, discussion of co-ordination of school and community facilities on a city-wide scale has a different focus. Here, an attempt will be made to analyse the opportunities and the problems which come into existence when the community school concept is multiplied to encompass an entire urban area, and the relationship between the single project and the larger plan. Two major roads to co-ordination on a city-wide scale have been identified:

i) "organic growth" or the administrative and organisational approach;
ii) the planning and interventionist approach.

98. The terms "organic growth" and "planning and interventionist approach" have been introduced to point to a difference in degree rather than in kind. Both approaches involve a certain amount of growth and development as well as planning, decision-making and intervention. The two most obvious distinctions between the two are the time factor and the introduction of the expert (often outside) planner. The first arrives at integration through a series of small steps, leading from separated functions to gradually more and more co-operative arrangements, thus minimising conflict. The second attempts to arrive at co-ordination on a city-wide scale in a relatively short period of time through planned intervention, changes in organisational structure and decision-making processes and, where possible, physical integration and proximity. The interventionist approach often creates conflict by exposing incompatible goals and strategies.

99. The first more organic and slow developmental process derives its impetus from empirical trial and error methods. Representative examples in this category can be found in smaller or medium-sized cities where

communication between the central decision-making body and the local school is close, e.g. two of the oldest community-school areas: Flint, Michigan and New Haven, Connecticut. A third more recent example of community education exists in one of the few still growing communities in the country, East Windsor, New Jersey. One common trait of all three examples is a long standing history of co-operation between various agencies which, in the first two cases, have led to an early use of schools for community services and, in the latter, to a more recent move towards the integrated provision of services. Another characteristic is the dominance of educational and recreational uses as evidenced in the various program brochures. As was found in Part One, the acceptability of integrating education and recreation eliminates the conflicts which arise in the co-ordination of traditionally less compatible uses. Included in the latter category are health, welfare and judicial agencies which have been co-ordinated in the larger urban areas and metropolitan regions through the interventionist approach.

100. Both Hartford and Ann Arbor count among the interventionist examples, as they offer community school models which have come into being as part of larger urban planning processes. In both cases the co-ordination of school and community facilities is seen as one important way of upgrading the urban environment. In both, citizens have been involved in the planning processes, and new organisational and architectural models have been developed. Another characteristic, common to both, has been the eruption of deep rooted conflicts during the planning processes.

101. The "Greater Hartford Process", a guideline report for the co-ordination of resources and needs in the greater Hartford region, states the initial problem in the following way:

> "American cities have traditionally lacked a way to deal with their problems. Public and private interests have been locked into their separate jurisdictions, powerless to attack the problems that respect no such boundary. We have lacked a process enabling us to work together across all boundaries - public and private, town and city, black and white, rich and poor. No group can do the job alone, although any group can stop it. Nothing good will happen unless people want it to happen and believe it can happen."(1)

102. Hartford and Ann Arbor began to attack the problems of co-ordination by developing comprehensive master plans for urban and educational development in the late 60's and early 70's. In 1976, when the present study

1) "The Greater Hartford Process", a report by the American City Corporation, a subsidiary of the Rouse Company, April 1972, page 11.

was conducted, neither of these plans had been implemented. However, a number of projects on the local level existed, partly because of the larger planning process and partly in spite of it. The reasons for this contradictory situation lie in the conflicts between central decision-making structures and projects striving for autonomy. Without a larger degree of autonomy at the local level, the complex problems of co-ordination cannot be solved. The central or top level administrator, however, tries to retain his influence, in order to balance resources on a city-wide scale.

103. The South Arsenal Neighborhood Development (SAND) project, one of the tangible results of the Greater Hartford Process and community efforts, provides a case in point: SAND's ability to help the neighbourhood to plan for its own needs and aspirations, and to gain financial support from various sources, precisely responded to the goals of the Greater Hartford Process. For this reason, it gained wide-spread support. At the same time, SAND's tendency to create a city within a city was perceived by Hartford's central governmental agencies as a threat, because of its potential for creating a new type of balkanised metropolitan area if followed by other communities. For this reason it suffered delays in its implementation. After nearly one decade, a balance now seems to have been found between these two extremes which are typical for a locally initiated and directed, yet centrally endorsed, project.

104. The SAND project, once the Everywhere School and its community facilities have been built, will be an interesting testing ground for the assumption that large problems and issues hold a neighbourhood together, in fact produce a "community" where, beforehand, there existed only a catchment area, populated by families without a common interest. Again, this may depend on how much further support will be extended from the central level and on what will happen to the local leaders who have been continuously involved in the project over the last ten years.

105. As will be seen in Ann Arbor, a new central administration which is geared to a different set of goals and objectives, may cause local leaders to resign and local input to diminish once the school has been built. The Ann Arbor city-wide educational planning process in the years 1971-73, had no precedent. It became a prototype which achieved a lot and failed a lot, within a fairly short period of time:

- five schools were planned and built as part of an overall plan and with considerable participation of the community;
- a comprehensive master plan was developed for the Board of Education, the only metropolitan agency;

- various agencies co-operated in the establishment of the physical and educational master plans and particularly the building and rehabilitation of one school (Mack);
- other projects already begun gained considerable support (Community High School, Teaching-Learning Communities, Environmental Plans for School Sites, etc.);
- the trend for schools to de-institutionalise and to become joint-usage community centers has gained momentum and now seems irreversible.

Problems arose because of:

- time-pressure, fast implementation and decentralised procedures;
- the lack of a unified decision-making process between the local level and the central level;
- long-standing conflicts between people;
- the planners' error of offering too many choices to local citizen groups who became overwhelmed not only by the choices, but also by the complex ramifications of each choice.

106. Whenever a planning study has been done to explore the possibilities of co-operation on a city-wide scale, schools have played a significant role. Out of the eleven projects of co-ordination of school and other social services visited in the course of this study six have been on a city-wide scale:

Arlington, Virginia (cf. Part One)
Flint, Michigan
New Haven, Connecticut
East Windsor, New Jersey
Hartford, Connecticut
Ann Arbor, Michigan

The high percentage of cases falling into this category seems to indicate that where the community/school concept has been successful, it seldom has been confined to one school in its area. If one includes Wharton, New Jersey and Mount Holly, New Jersey (see paragraphs 82-96) where converted school buildings serve the entire, rather small community, the ratio is even higher. According to a recent estimate by the Educational Facilities Laboratories in New York:

10% of all school districts in the United States are now using or planning schools as an integral part of the total social services network;

30% use empty schools for new purposes, among them community activities;
40% follow the "lighted school house" concept which means educational and recreational uses take place after school hours.

107. In the present study of different projects of co-ordination on a city-wide scale a number of common problems have been identified:

a) The provision of community education programs and co-ordinated social services is, in the first place, a social and not a technical problem which requires first a social, and only thereafter, a technical solution. This basic truth has often been overlooked where technical problems (e.g. the lack of adequate facilities and equipment) have been the initial impetus for co-ordination.
b) The problem of co-ordination can only be solved at local level. The central decision-making bodies may hinder or enhance the opportunities for co-ordination; however, the specific outcome depends on the abilities and willingness of local groups to co-operate.
c) The increased complexity of planning and implementing co-ordinated programs necessitates increased autonomy at local level and creation of new local power structures, which in turn may create conflict situations in cases where the central decision-making structure is not willing to delegate responsibilities.
d) Two groups play a particularly important role: local leaders and consultants. In general, it might be said that the nearer they both are to the local project in terms of physical distance and the longer and more continuous their involvement is, the more likely is their success.
e) The complexity of planning and implementation requires new techniques for intersectoral planning, as it is impossible to proceed sequentially in an overlapping decision-making process.
f) In terms of co-ordination of facilities on a city-wide scale, substantial savings occur when community resources (human resources, institutional resources, commercial establishments, etc.) are used for the educational program. Difficulties arise in respect of the pursuit of the resources' own objectives, and where they need to protect themselves from being depleted. The danger remains on both sides: schools may be inundated by public use, and community resources may be inundated by educational uses.

g) Although the goal of community education is to provide either a co-ordinated approach or one roof for all social services, educational and recreational uses tend to dominate.

h) The problems of community schools are the problems of their catchment areas. All co-ordinated projects which are imbedded in a larger planning process act as models and directly influence solutions sought in adjacent areas.

108. The two approaches to co-ordination on a city-wide scale, organic growth and the interventionist approach, typify two extreme ends of a continuum along which a limitless number of variations can be found. Each case in the United States represents in a way a unique combination shaped by the specific local background and the characteristics of the people involved. To attempt an analysis of a representative cross section, therefore, proves to be an impossible task. All one can hope for is to show a panorama and to increase understanding for some of the common problems in contrast to the more special ones.

109. The community school movement in the United States seems far from having reached its peak. A trend reversal seems not in sight, and whether economic resources for education decline as in the recent past or increase as in the late 60's the mono-functional school building seems to be on the way out. This applies to all regions and states even though most of our examples have come from the East Coast and the Midwest. The school as the historical community meeting ground seems as important today for exploring new social patterns as it has been for the social life in the early pioneer settlements. In the new suburbs which provide no core area or "main street" the school often is the only focus for community activities, and the natural starting point for additional social services. Planning and architectural design, today, are in general, far more sensitive to this point than ten years ago. But not only the new settlements depend on their educational institutions for generating or supporting the necessary additional recreational, cultural, health, and welfare services. Realising and using the schools' potential for upgrading and regenerating older urban areas, seems to become its most important asset in the future.

ORGANIC GROWTH OF THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL CONCEPT

110. Two of the oldest community school examples in the United States: Flint, Michigan and New Haven, Connecticut began to provide community services in schools in the 1930's. Following the lighted school house concept those services were provided mainly after school hours and during school holidays.

Flint, Michigan

111. Flint, a city of 193 000 built almost exclusively around the General Motors automobile industry, is the most widely known example. In the 30's when the city needed playgrounds and summer programs some of the schools began to open their doors to the population of the surrounding catchment areas. Later separate community facilities merged into an integrated school and community center. Flint's early community recreation and adult education program, generously supported by the Mott Foundation, turned the former 8-hour schools into 18-hour community centers. During the 40 years of community education, Flint has reported significant improvements in preventative health, voting frequency and approval of bond issues. There is less juvenile delinquency and absenteeism, and vandalism has dropped. The number of school dropouts went down 80% and juvenile offenders returning to prison was reduced to half. Enrolments in adult education programs have increased at double the national rate.

112. Of all the school districts which have implemented community education Flint has gone furthest in institutionalising community education. Its superintendent is now called Superintendent of Community Schools, and every school in the district is open to non-school community uses of its facilities. Flint has considerably developed and changed its concept of community education since 1935. Instead of the early "lighted schoolhouse" concept, community education is now being viewed as including all the socio-economic aspects of life in the community. Today the Flint Board of Education, while continuing to emphasize the provision of programs which serve the expressed needs of the citizens, is increasingly utilising the process approach in the development and involvement of the individual for the betterment of the community. Major national associations and institutions supported by the Mott Foundation in Flint helped the community education concept to gain national recognition. Fifteen thousand visitors per year come to see the Flint concept of community education in operation, attend conferences, workshops and community education courses.

113. The willingness of the Mott Foundation to consider annual grant requests from the Board of Education, and to ultimately fund most of these requests within a 5 million dollar ceiling, has enabled the Flint Board to continue pioneering in programs and processes in the field of community education. This rather sizeable supportive grant, in the first years, proved to be more of a hindrance for the spread of the concept than an asset. As few communities had this kind of support, the Flint Board of Community Education soon took great care to point out that approximately 7 million dollars have usually come from other sources, primarily through local taxes. However, nearly half of the 50 programs offered today in Flint would have to be cut if there were no foundation support. In addition, one of the most interesting features, the "Request Program Grant" (offering 5 000 dollars to individual schools to carry out innovative concepts or experimental programs and apply new technologies both in the classroom and in overall community activities) might not exist without Mott Foundation money.

New Haven, Connecticut

114. Community education, however, does not require large amounts of money before co-operation can begin. For a long period of time, New Haven, a university city with 135 000 inhabitants, operated on a modest budget. Only in 1962 did Conte School establish a new type of community education facility that included shared recreational space and new buildings designed specifically for community use, including a public library and swimming pool. A health center within the complex serves both school and neighbourhood. Two clubrooms, one assembly room and a small kitchen have been provided for Senior Citizens. Out-migration of white middle-class to the suburbs, decrease in school population and financial cut-backs, have recently forced the New Haven Board of Education and the Parks and Recreation Department (which jointly finance the operational costs) to close Conte School during the weekend. However, two further community school centers have been planned and implemented on public park land in recent years.

115. An evaluation of programs in 1973-74 involved 400 parents, 225 staff and 1 700 students in an examination of attitudes and concepts of the Community School Program; the New Haven Public School System came to the following conclusions:

"Almost without exception, the various samples of individuals involved were highly complimentary of the efforts of the program. Nowhere in the data is there any significant tendency to view the components of the program as unsatisfactory, excepting in areas where the inquiry focused on a need for additional resources and materials.

The respondents evidenced considerable morale relative to their own schools or the schools which were attended by their children. The responses were characterised by a high degree of realism (e.g. we don't see the need for additional secretarial service as important).

Perhaps the most unusual aspect of this endeavour is the general tendency of the responses obtained in the inquiry to reflect a difference of opinion in regard to the often heard comments that, (1) children view their schools negatively, (2) parents are down on the schools, and (3) staff morale is at its lowest ebb. These are not warranted according to the present data. This does not mean, of course, that there is not room for improvement. Inter-agency communication, the involvement of parents and staff in program decisions and the need to clarify the nature of administrative and board support remain to be improved upon.

Furthermore, in order for specific improvements to occur, it will be necessary to focus upon the identification of those factors which would result in these improvements. Attitudes and concepts should be comprehensively viewed in relation to achievement and also between community schools and non-community schools."

The evaluation does not include facilities aspects. It shows, however, an overall contentedness with the way community education has developed. Both Flint and New Haven have achieved a fair amount of stability in the co-ordination of services during decades of development and growth of the concept.

East Windsor

116. East Windsor, New Jersey, is an upper middle-class and middle-class suburb of New York, a low density residential area in the neighbourhood of Princeton, and one of the few communities in the country which is still growing. In contrast to Flint and New Haven, "community education" programs only started recently. The fast and successful introduction of the concept, however, has been possible because of a long-standing history of inter-agency and inter-governmental co-operation, in addition to recently planned change. East Windsor provides an example in between "organic

growth" and "planned intervention".

117. Twenty-three years of adult education programs in the East Windsor schools had made people aware that the school could serve more than one age group, and for many years the Recreation Commission has been a joint commission serving two municipalities. A co-operative enterprise, therefore, was not a new idea. Thus, when it became clear, about five years ago, that there was a need for a process which could tie the different and unco-ordinated social, educational and recreational programs together, this process was looked upon as more than an emergency measure. In order to explore alternatives for co-ordination:

- a citizens' task force was sent to Flint, Michigan, to study "community education" on a city-wide scale; and
- a consulting firm was hired to assess the community's needs and resources and to provide it with an independent judgement and plan of how to tie the two together.

118. The study of the consulting firm took one year to carry out and cost the Board of Education $20 000. An ad hoc Community Committee appointed to examine the proposals of the management consultant firm presented, in June 1974, the results of this examination to the Board of Education. One of the most important points stressed was the need for establishing a central agency to co-ordinate the social services in the community. Community education became the answer, and Howard Scarborough was nominated as Principal of Community Education. He had been a high school principal for 17 years and knew most of the members of the community personally. Supported by two clerks, one secretary for adult education and one facilities co-ordinator, he started a program which in one year developed programs to serve 25 000 adults and children in the community. The lack of cultural and recreation programs and the expensive duplication of services have been eliminated and the programs are collectively supported by inter-agency and citizens' task forces. As Howard Scarborough put it, "it is a cradle-to-grave operation" which starts with infant care, pre-school and day care centers, and serves teenagers and adults in afternoon, evening and week-end programs. One of the most important programs is the Senior Citizens' Pre-Retirement Program. Schools are now being used for 600 different purposes in one month. Publicity is handled through local newspapers, programs and the nearby Princeton radio station.

119. It took one year to find a suitable facility for the community education center, as schools are still overcrowded. Finally, an empty supermarket became the hub of further co-operative efforts. The renovated

supermarket has proved to be an excellent facility, centrally located, providing sufficient parking and adaptable spaces. Apart from its use as community offices and as a day-time drop-in-center and meeting area, it houses a warehouse for the Board of Education and workshops for printing, woodwork, metalwork and electronics. In the morning the workshops serve vocational classes. During the afternoons and evenings they are used for work experience training programs in which printed materials are produced and school furniture, radio and television equipment are repaired on an "earn while you learn" basis. The fall and winter program 1975-76 offers 15 000 programs, mostly educational and recreational, and serves a clientele far beyond the school district's boundaries.

120. Co-operative ties are being sought with the Municipal Recreation Commission, social service agencies, Community Action Council, Community Education Advisory Council, Chamber of Commerce, Arts Council, retirement communities, senior citizen groups, camps, clubs and bands. In East Windsor all the co-operating agencies have formed a 17-member advisory council which determines the policies and priorities of the program. (The structure and decision-making procedures of the council follows closely the recommendations of the management consultants.) All school facilities are available to the entire community on a "first come first served basis". In contrast to many other community education programs which usually give priority to educational uses there is no priority list in East Windsor, except for normal school hours. After 2.30 p.m. the principal loses control over his facility and has to ask the community education principal for permission to use his own room in the evening. Another characteristic, not too often found, is that there is no limit with regard to time. Many uses will go on until midnight. This has been achieved by introducing janitorial services in two shifts: one serving from 7.00 a.m. to 4.00 p.m; and the second from 4.00 p.m. to midnight (or later). Fee schedules are very low, and custodial fees have to be paid only on Sundays.

121. Since the introduction of community education, new schools have been planned with a special committee to ensure that the new requirements are being met. The following list summarises the points which have received particular attention:

Location. The school should be planned to be within easy reach. The location of centers of gravity, i.e. social services, shops, etc., have not been considered important. However, technical infrastructure must be provided.

Access. Entrances must be provided where particular areas for community use will be used frequently and need to be isolated from

the rest of the school.

Additional facilities. Kitchens near entrance areas and surplus storage spaces are needed in schools which serve community purposes.

Heating and lighting. It is desirable to provide heating and lighting systems that can be controlled by areas.

Music rooms and assembly halls. These facilities need to be equipped with special sound-proofing to be usable during the day and at night without inconvenience to activities in adjacent facilities.

122. East Windsor may be ahead of other municipalities or school districts but it is not an exception. In 1975 seventy-five school districts in the area decided to go the community education route.

THE INTERVENTIONIST APPROACH

The Greater Hartford Process and the SAND Project

a) The Greater Hartford Process

123. Hartford, Connecticut, the insurance capital of the United States is a medium sized city of 158 000 population and a rich mixture of ethnic groups including Irish, Polish, Greek, French Canadian, German and Puerto Rican communities. Its catchment area within the Greater Hartford Region encompasses 29 towns and a population of approximately 670 000. Because of its easy access to the sea via the Connecticut and Long Island Sound, Hartford's position as a commercial center has long been assured. Its convenient proximity to the nation's major markets is cited today as one of the main reasons why conservative estimates predict a doubling of the population in the region by the year 2000. This growth will occur virtually exclusively in the outer ring of towns.

124. Severe unemployment problems and a concentration of the poor, the blacks and Puerto Ricans in the City of Hartford coupled with urban renewal programs, which replaced delapidated housing with commercial establishments and light industry, caused violent riots during the late 60's. Against this background the Greater Hartford business community in 1969 established something called the Greater Hartford Process. Harnessing public and private interests, its goal is to improve the social and physical quality of the Greater Hartford Region by:

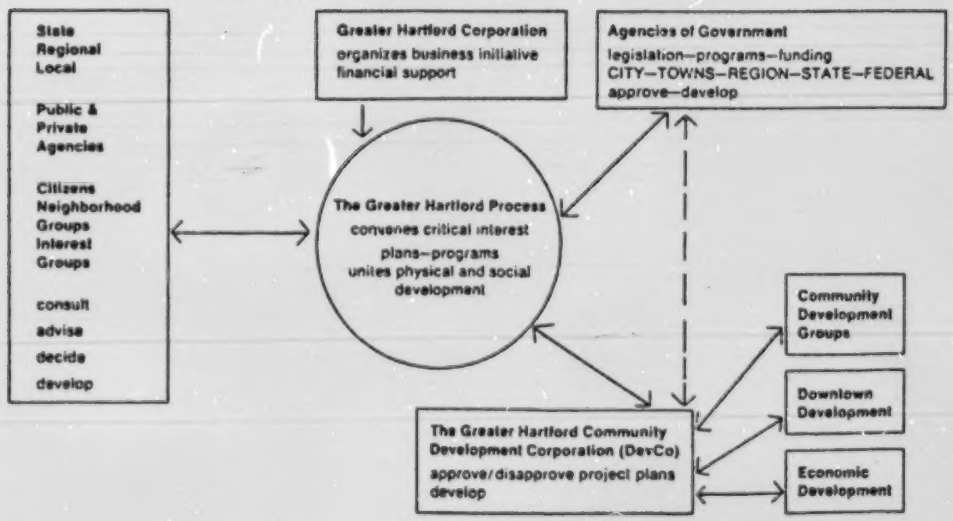
- bringing the essential parties to one table;
- linking planning and development with a commitment to carry out the plans;

- working at a large enough scale; and
- establishing a continuing process.

Figure 10 shows how it is intended to work.

Figure 10

THE GREATER HARTFORD PROCESS



Source : The Greater Hartford Process, op. cit., page 12.

125. The New Englander, in its 1973 write up on "Hartford a prototype for self-renewal", states that the "nation's most ambitious regional growth plan combines the self-interest of the man-on-the-street, business and government in a 20 year, $800 million 'Process'". The Greater Hartford Process - a 148-page document delivered in 1972 by the American City Corporation at a cost of $3 million - is, according to Hopperfeld, vice president of the Rouse Company and director of the Process' technical staff, "designed to get the diverse people and groups in the Greater Hartford Region to want the same things and to work towards the same goals".

Even though the document is unique in tackling complex issues in an understandable and clear language, this goal apparently has not been achieved. John Wilson, the Director of the SAND (South Arsenal Neighborhood Development) project, stated that between the experts from Process and grass roots citizen groups, communication was difficult. Although publicly there was agreement on the goals, this was seldom followed by action.

> "In practical terms, Process is an organization of some 30 planners, economists, social service, health and community workers headed by lawyer Peter Libassi, former executive of the National Urban Coalition under John Gardner. As the diagram indicates, Process gets advice from the Greater Hartford Corporation, run by and for the downtown business community, whose job is to raise private capital. Between 1969 and 1972 it has come up with $3 million and seeks $7 million commitment from private business over the next five years. Process relays its proposals to planning agencies in 28 towns that make up the Greater Hartford Region. But since Process itself has no governmental authority these initiatives may be revised, rejected or simply ignored by local government agencies. So far, local governments have given Process a mixed reception. It also conveys its ideas to the Greater Hartford Community Development Corporation - or DevCo - the finance and construction arms of Process. Also headed by Libassi, DevCo consists of some 15 architects, planners and economists. Their job is to acquire land, prepare site plans and obtain financing. Finally, Process gets ideas and advice from citizens, but so far has been criticized - by HUD,(1) among others - for not doing this assiduously enough ....
>
> Since the most promising aspect of Process is its approach to problems on a region-wide rather than single-city basis, it is fitting that one of its major achievements is the launching of Coventry, a new town in the suburbs, while the other is the launching of DevCo-SAND, a joint development project in inner Hartford. New Neighborhoods, a third concept, aims to build 300 acres of upper-, middle- and subsidized low-income housing in the suburbs. Process hopes through this program, to make available to low-income families the choice of moving to the suburbs should they desire."(2)

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1) HUD = Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development.

2) "Recycling Cities", Design and Environment, N° 14, 1973, pages 31-32.

126. The list of projects dedicated to achieving a balanced growth and an amelioration of major problems has grown. Apart from progress reports which appear every six months and list activities of particular interest in this span of time, there is a "Report of the Process, May 1972 - February 1975" which covers an ambitious program of physical, social and economic development:

- progress on five development sites (SAND, Upper Albany, Congress Street, South Hartford, Coventry) and technical assistance to towns (Farmington and West Hartford);
- new institutions, programs and activities (neighbourhood social services, region-wide personal care for the elderly, neighbourhood employment services, city economic development, neighbourhood health centers, North Hartford Health Study, neighbourhood housing services, fair housing practices and higher education services); and
- support of community organisations (Citizens' Assembly, SAND, UACO and neighbourhood coalition - the latter designed to bring together 16 city neighbourhoods to learn from one another, seeking city-wide unity and sharing of experience).

127. For obvious reasons these reports tend to stress achievements rather than problem areas. Comparing the information they provide with that gathered in SAND, differences became apparent. These are probably due to differing viewpoints at different levels of responsibility and to many years of fighting at the project level which left its mark on the spirit of the people involved. Nonetheless, several points may be made:

It seems as if the city-wide Process toward regeneration has at the same time helped and hindered the development of SAND.

Process helped in raising funds and, in some cases, in the negotiation of agreements between the neighbourhood and various city agencies.

Process hindered developments by making SAND a model case for other neighbourhoods. This meant, that SAND had to sacrifice some of its autonomy in order to make it an applicable model for other neighbourhoods. However, it was often accused of creating a city within a city.

b) The SAND Project

128. Although the "Everywhere School", a decentralised concept of a primary school/neighbourhood community facility has not yet been built, the one day visit to the project site was extended to three days as it was felt that the project provided, not only a unique range of innovative ideas, but had also brought together a group of people who were truly committed to its implementation. Similarly to what happened in Dunbar (Baltimore), a threat - this time the threat of relocation through urban renewal rather than the threat of losing a school - brought the community together in the early 60's. "The Everywhere School", a working paper prepared by the South Arsenal Neighbourhood Development Corporation in 1968 states the context and general goals of the school in the following way:

> "The South Arsenal neighborhood has served as a Hartford port of entry for black and Puerto Rican people for almost a decade. Many of the long-time residents are verterans of a redevelopment project (Windsor Street) that moved them to South Arsenal from the former port of entry, the Windsor Street area. South Arsenal is an area of approximately 56 acres, bounded by Main Street, the Windsor Street Extension, Pavillion and Blake Streets (including Bellevue Square). Approximately 1 000 families (5 000 people) live in this area. 40% of the residents are Puerto Rican and 60% are black. South Arsenal is at the bottom of the economic ladder; 59% of the families earn less than $4 000 a year, and 60% of these residents are on welfare. The predominant occupations are in the semi-skilled and service classifications. The living environment is characterized by age, overcrowding, deterioration and inadequacy. Most of the housing units were constructed before 1900, are three-storey brick converted multifamily units (55%), deficient and substandard (50%), without central heat (54%) and tenant occupied (96%). The present elementary school was built in 1899. South Arsenal has been designated by the City of Hartford as a high priority urban renewal area and Model Cities neighborhood.
>
> South Arsenal's broadest goal is improvement in the quality of the lives of South Arsenal people. The primary vehicles for corrective action, hence improvement, are community participation and learning. For us participation is the formation of a neighborhood corporation with broad representation and action programs. For us learning is the perception of our total environment. Learning encompasses each of us individually and all of us together as it relates to our future

and to specific measurable educational results. Learning clarifies our options and provides a framework by which we can act on those options. Learning is relevant. Learning will produce 'payoffs' in terms of social and economic improvement. Learning and the Everywhere School will form the physical and emotional spine of the new South Arsenal community."

i) Initiation and Planning Process

129. The South Arsenal Neighbourhood Development Corporation was first formed in 1965 as a vehicle for citizen participation in the planning process of their area. In 1968, the Connecticut State Department of Human Affairs gave SAND a $110 000 grant to plan neighbourhood development in co-operation with the city's Department of Rehabilitation. SAND used the money for technical assistance and hired a law firm, an architect/city planner, and accountants. The first community board, 13 people elected by 1 000 families (yearly procedure), reflected the racial composition of the community.

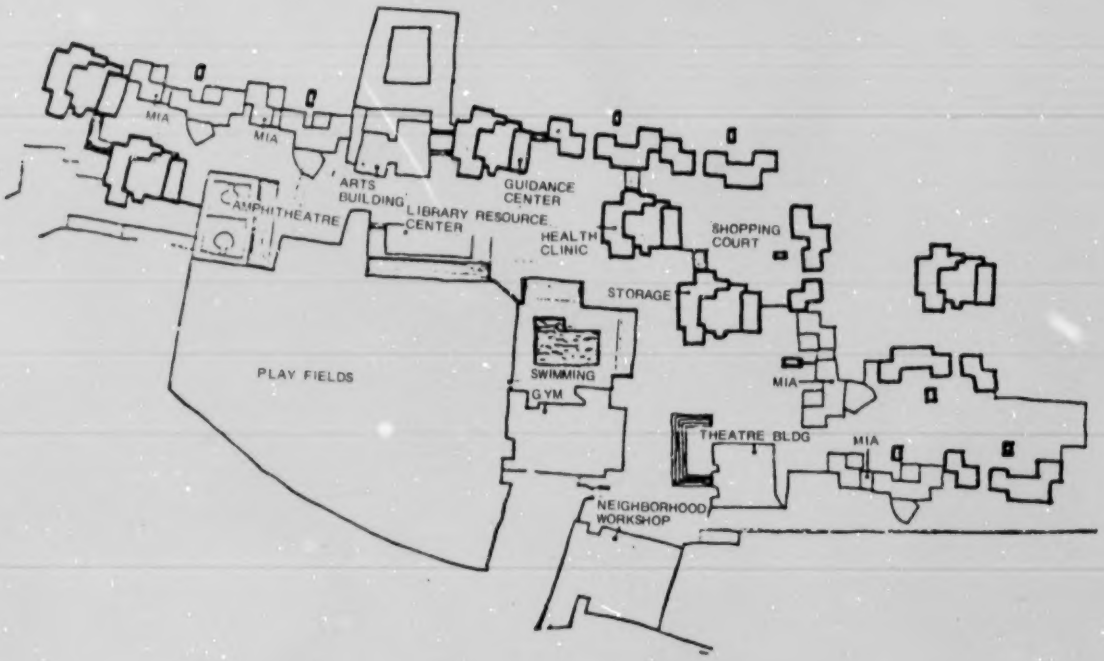
130. With little physical results to show for their work, SAND nevertheless got an additional $250 000 grant in 1969 to plan the locally-controlled "Everywhere School". Working with a committee of eight, who later became SAND's board of directors, Dollard (the architect/city planner) slowly helped the group to find "its own thing". In trying to get people to think about different possibilities - not just building the same thing, only new - Dollard opened to them various avenues that might be followed. Perhaps the community could be developed as a house, with co-operative kitchens, central TV lounges, and dormitories for children (this was rejected, because "we don't live that way in America"). Or it could be developed as a park (rejected as being "silly"), a factory ("depressing"), or a university. It had earlier been decided by neighbourhood people that their main objective was a good education for their children, allowing at least the children to escape the existing environment. The idea of a university - where education is a way of life, and where the emphasis is on getting ahead (intellectually or economically) - would answer this hope. The "Everywhere School" that developed is like a university, and is the principle on which the plan pivots. It is a brilliant answer to the ills of inner-city education, and at the same time, a down-to-earth proposal that is thoroughly workable.

131. The "Everywhere School", as might be imagined, is everywhere. The traditional school has been exploded into a series of teaching spaces and facilities spread throughout the neighbourhood. The library serves as a

community focal point and the auditorium as a community theater. The gymnasium is a third central place; arts and industrial crafts are grouped into a fourth. Originally these special facilities were intended to form a kind of neighbourhood commons, while the other educational spaces were planned to be accommodated on the ground floor of high-rise and low-rise buildings. (See Figure 11). This plan did not materialise for reasons outlined below, but a similar plan has now been adopted.

Figure 11

ORIGINAL SITE PLAN FOR THE EVERYWHERE SCHOOL



132. In the meantime, the president of the University of Connecticut, Dr. Homer Babbidge, had helped the community to acquire and renovate an old warehouse. Since 1968, the 10 000 sq. ft. (930 m^2) facility has housed SAND's offices, neighbourhood services, the first demonstration MIA (multi-instructional area) and on the first floor the artist-in-residence studio. SAND, the first neighbourhood development corporation in Connecticut, soon learned what it meant to run a big, busy office, and how to get the funding needed. The idea of sprinkling schoolrooms everywhere and rebuilding an entire community around its schools met with widespread enthusiasm and was published in many journals, reports and papers. Implementation was, however, delayed again and again.

ii) Problems and Barriers

133. Descriptive evidence for reasons or problems that have led to the postponement of implementation for more than eight years are rare or hard to come by. However, through interviews, newspaper articles and later reports several points seem to emerge:

The plan to integrate the schools within the housing project with federal housing money was abandoned because a group in Baltimore seeking the same goal met with failure.

The neighbourhood life center which operated in the community died because the Johnson Wood Foundation decided not to continue its funding. According to the neighbourhood people, criteria were applied in the assessment stage which had not been part of the original proposal (e.g. the question of numbers of people to be treated).

Changes in federal funding seem to have played a major role in the delay - in the early 70's, the model cities program was changed into the Community Development Program and funded through the city rather than as a direct grant from the federal government.

In 1972-73, the Nixon moratorium on all federally funded units put an end to the construction of housing units at the end of Phase I (274 units) - further plans for commercial and housing developments (Phase II) and commercial and light industrial establishments (Phase III) will now have to wait for new policies and funding opportunities.

In spite of the Greater Hartford Process, Councillor Jacquey Anderson holds that the Board of Education operates almost in isolation. Meetings with the City Council usually happen only at budget time. It is her opinion that one cannot go to sleep on an issue but must push continually to get it through the bureaucracy.

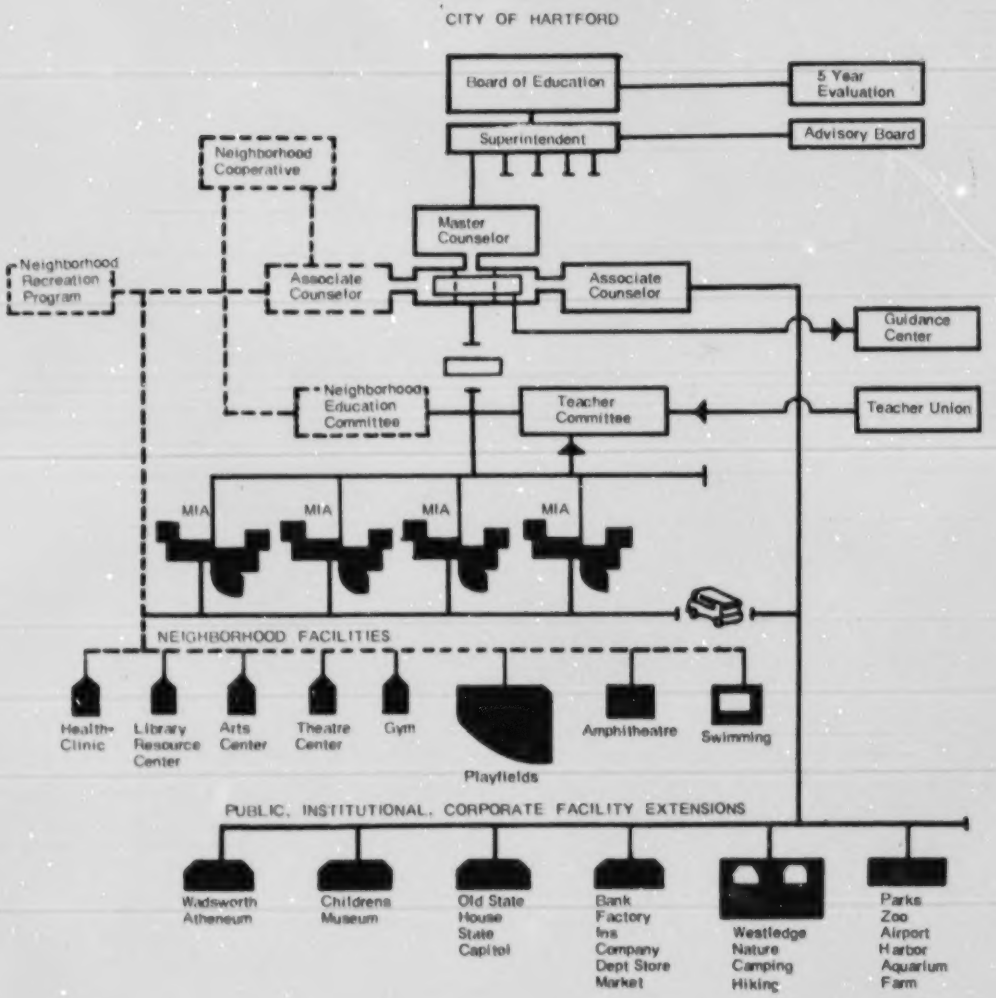
Somewhere in the process of planning the school, the white architect who had worked with the community and planned the school described above was replaced by a black architect. This obviously caused some delay as new ideas and wishes to create a different design were brought into the process.

A Human Services Component co-ordinating the whole array of about 20 social service agencies was implemented halfway and then abandoned; not one of the four multi-service centers established in the city (one of them in SAND) is left today;

Communication between the Chamber of Commerce and the community has been cut.

Figure 12

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE EVERYWHERE SCHOOL



Original cost estimates have been overrun by inflation and rising construction costs.

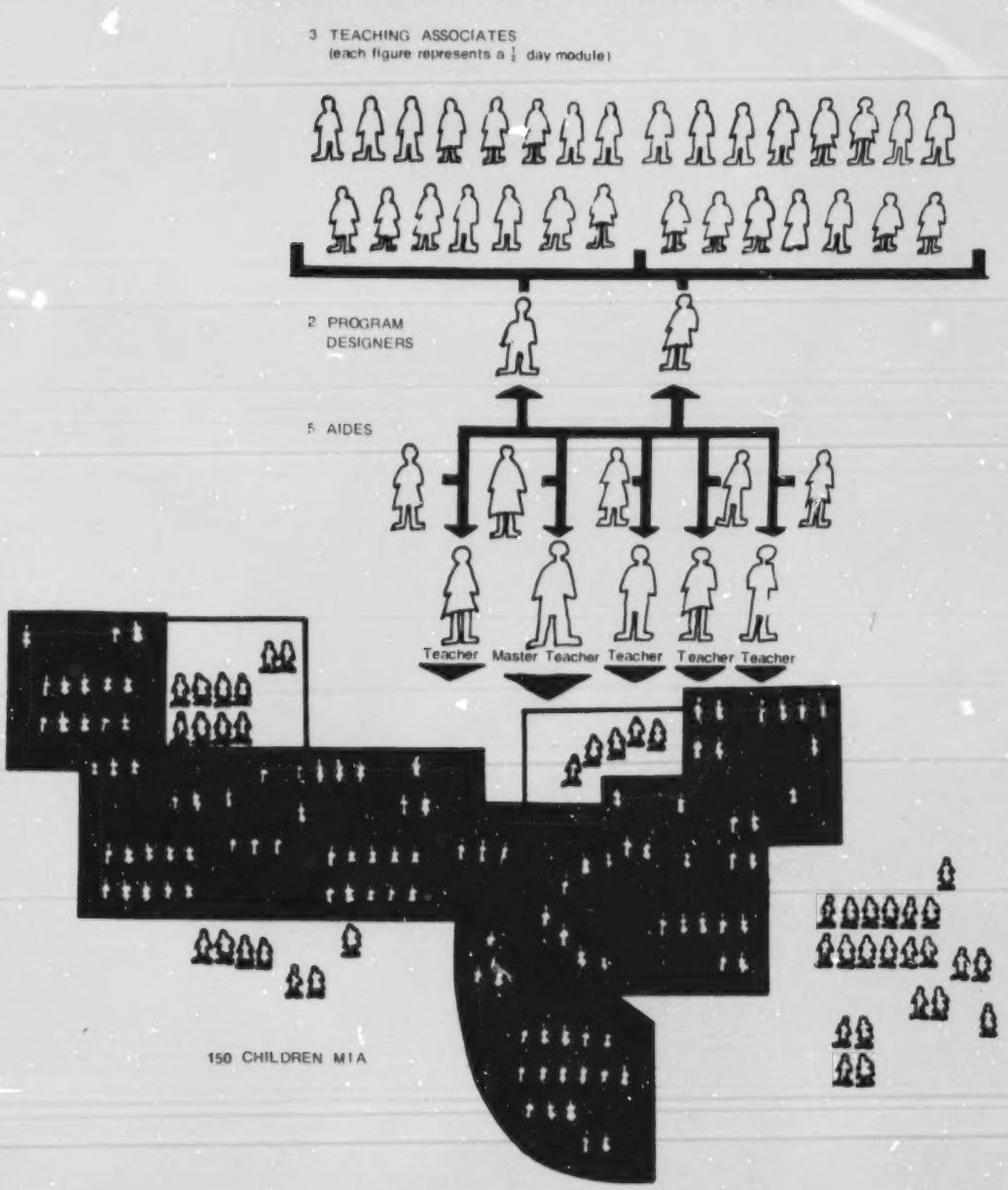
Desegregation issues (the Everywhere School in the first three years would be totally segregated) have held up funding requests.

iii) Implementation Aspects

134. In the spring of 1977 all the MIAs will be in operation and the old Arsenal school will be torn down to provide space for a shopping center. What remains of the original ideas is still impressive.

Figure 13

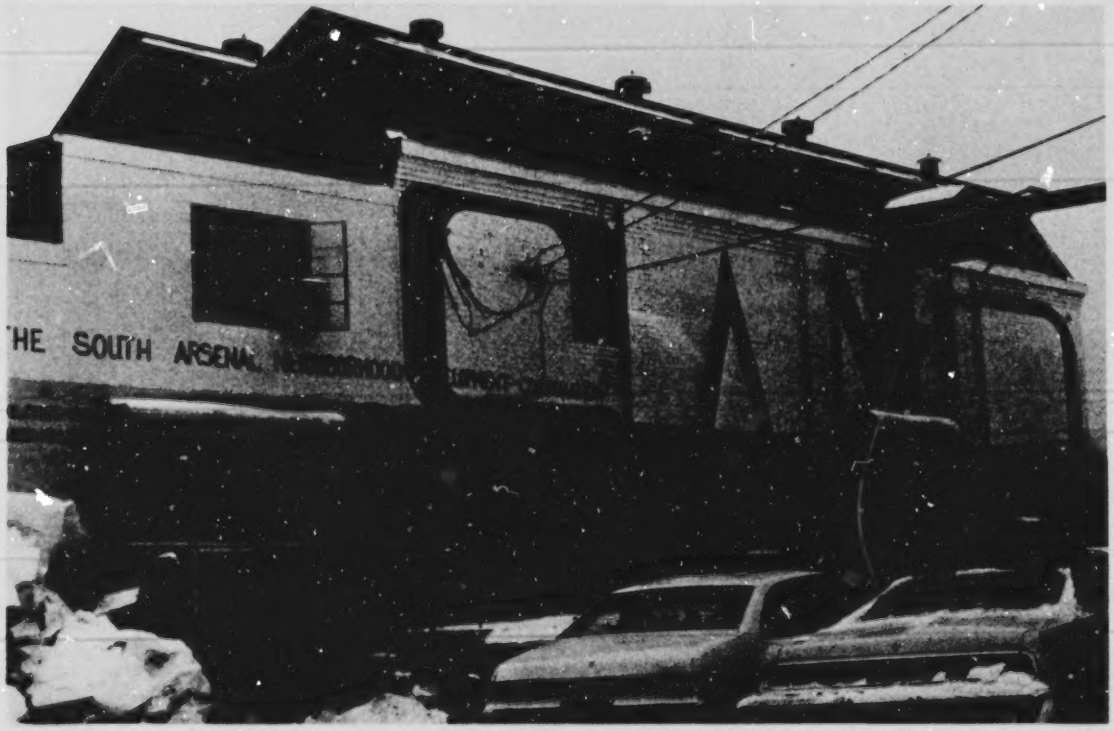
ORIGINAL PROPOSAL FOR A MIA TEACHING TEAM



135. The Everywhere School has gone through a pre-demonstration phase (until 1970), a demonstration and operating phase (1976), and will now be implemented. Eight MIAs located in 3 groupings will be built, separated from the housing project rather than physically integrated as originally planned. Although the architectural design has been changed so that the buildings can be reconverted into traditional classrooms, if this should

be necessary in the future, the school is still dispersed. Instead of a total area of 89 000 sq. ft. (8 270 m^2) as originally planned, higher construction costs have forced reduction to 68 000 sq. ft. (6 320 m^2). Each MIA will have a paved and grassed recreation area. The gymnasium will be shared by school and community. The Neighborhood Life Center will co-ordinate social delivery services (social work, legal aid and SHOP - the Sand Home Orientation Program - and a health clinic). A public park and recreation spaces connect new housing and educational facilities.

136. Still located within the renovated warehouse which also contains SAND's offices and the artist-in-residence studio, the demonstration MIA is a place full of new ideas and run by the warm interest, awareness and pride of its users. A 100-150 pupil, pre-school to 3rd grade inclusive, selected by lot from the local elementary schools, study in various contiguous spaces. An inside nature area contains a small patch of earth with corn seed; there is water; and there are goldfish and flowers. In a special kitchen, the preparation of ethnic meals is made possible. Different areas of mathematics, reading, science, drama, and a cafeteria are separated by bookshelves, differences in height (drama area) and movable boards. Colourful pictures and different lighting transform the



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open warehouse space into highly personal and identifiable areas. Even though Jack Dollard, the first architect, is somewhat disappointed with the use made of flexible shelves and partitions, one gets the impression that the space has indeed been moulded by teachers, parents and children to suit their needs.

137. The educational concept as innovative as the architectural and planning concept, seems to have best survived the eight years since its inception. It is geared to the special needs of the community but also reflects the most progressive stance of the late 60's. In the 1968 working paper the educational system is described as being visible and accessible and providing an opportunity for the full or partial voluntary involvement of everyone. It

> "creates a teaching-learning plan in an atmosphere that will produce a positive change in children's attitudes toward themselves and toward learning;
>
> places a strong emphasis on reading, writing and mathematics;
>
> ranks the following skills high in priority:
>
> observation
> comparison
> classification and categorisation
> perception of problems
> intuition and "hunching"
> hypothesis building and testing
> extrapolation
> interpretation
> appreciation
>
> assists children to become independent, responsible, thinking adults;
>
> holds that the important thing is not only how much a child knows but how well he utilises what he knows;
>
> holds that children tend to learn best those things they feel to be relevant to their own lives and have, in some measure, chosen to learn;
>
> holds that it is possible for children to discover the intrinsic satisfaction that comes from successful learning;
>
> teaches the child how to learn - not how to be taught - the creation of the self-directed learner."(1)

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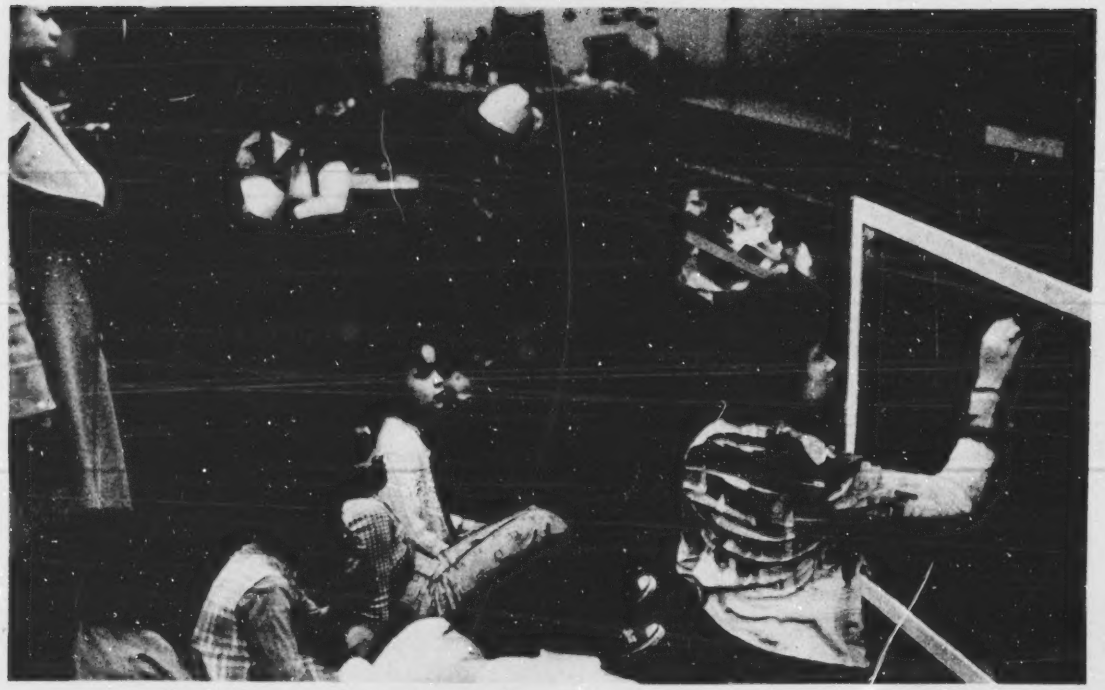
1) "The Everywhere School", a working paper, SAND Corporation, 1968, pages 10-11.



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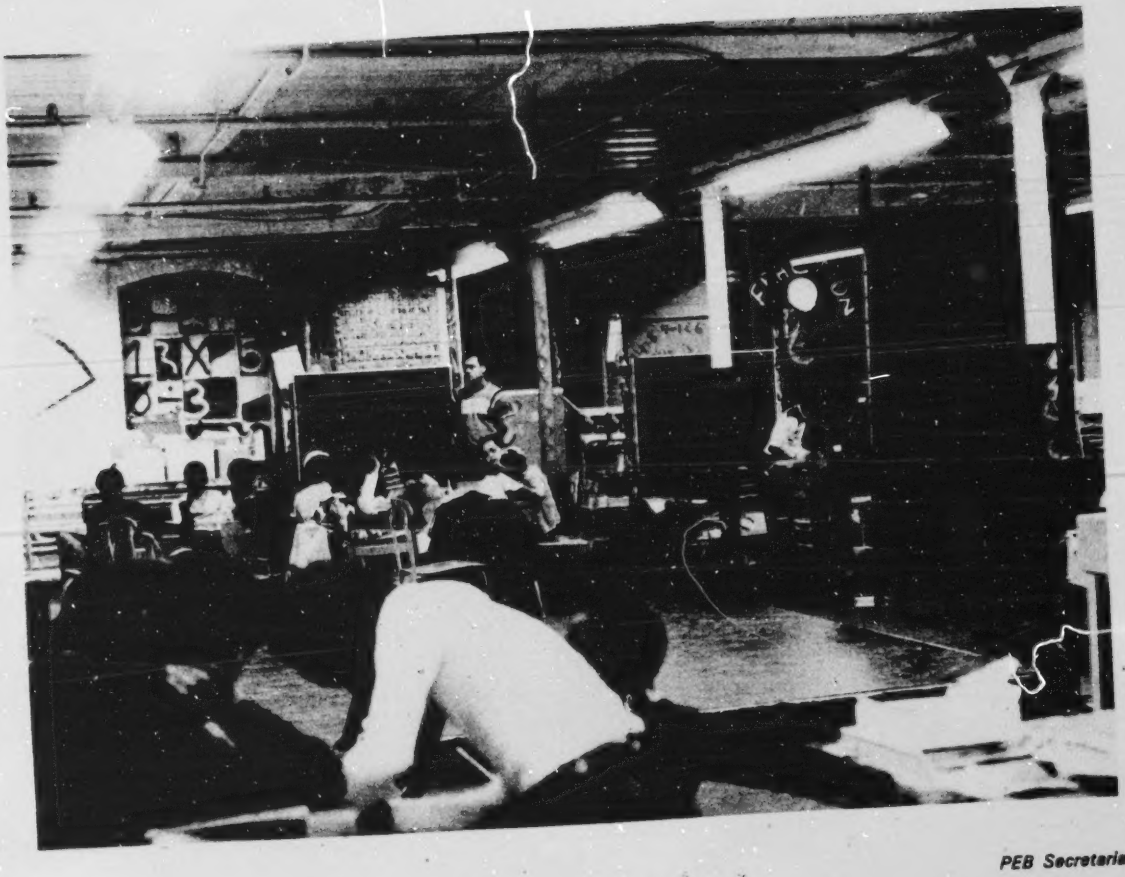

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138. The Everywhere School is a participating member of the Hartford Public School System and reports to the Hartford Superintendent of Schools and the Board of Education. The school is administered by a Counselor Staff under the direction of a Master Counselor, who is the direct organisational link to the Superintendent. The Master Counselor is appointed and paid by the Board of Education. The Counselor Staff is charged generally with responsibility for the entire spectrum of education in the neighbourhood and specifically with operating the neighbourhood MIAs. Figure 12 shows the organisational structure adopted for the School.

139. Each MIA of 150 children has a teaching team comprising:

- a master teacher with responsibility for the educational program within his MIA;
- four certified teachers with direct responsibility for implementing the educational program;
- five teaching aides, generally people from the neighbourhood, preferably mothers and fathers, who will assist the teachers in their work.

The original proposal (see Figure 13) includes two program designers and three teaching associates who have been eliminated in the course of further developments. Despite this the pupil/adult ratio will be no less than 15/1.

140. Unfortunately the Environmental Extension and Field Trip Program providing children with the necessary outside experience had to be eliminated due to lack of funding. It operated, however, in part during the demonstration phase, and distinguished three kinds of programs:

i) agencies or business firms that would send their staff members into the school;
ii) agencies or business firms that would be open to receive pupils;
iii) exchanges between agencies or business firms and the school, i.e. a combination of i) and ii).

141. One of the unique features of the comprehensive SAND art/cultural program is the SAND Art Studio. A black artist from the community who did several striking murals in the city of Hartford has a studio and partly lives on the first floor of the old warehouse which contains the demonstration MIA. In return for community help in building his studio he now works with 10 pupils from the elementary school and 12 from other

parts of the community. He often comes down to be part of the school and children visit his studio. The paintings and art objects produced by elementary school children as a result of this close relationship were quite outstanding. Other co-operating agencies are the Hartford Art Council, Trinity College, Hartford Public School System, Loomis Chaffee (a private boarding school), Ministerial Alliance (a consortium of churches in the black community), and the West Hartford Art League. Participating institutions have committed themselves to sponsoring exhibits and a minimum of two art lectures a year with an emphasis on black art and with the possibility of extending the lecture service depending on the interest and receptiveness of those attending. A non-profit group consisting of 36 representatives of community groups throughout the Hartford and Greater Hartford Area provide limited financial support and co-ordinate the service in terms of informing and encouraging their local communities to attend and participate in all activities.

142. Altogether 274 units of low-income housing have been built. Through the SAND Home Orientation Program (SHOP) the new residents are being instructed in the use of the new facilities and informed about ways to budget the costs of furnishing and living. The program takes place in a model apartment in the new housing project in 4 two-hour sessions. Although only 108 units are for families and 166 for the elderly, the biggest problem is still providing enough apartments for the elderly.

143. The funding of the predemonstration MIA came from three major sources; the Hartford Board of Education, the Hartford Business Community - through the Urban Coalition of Greater Hartford Inc. - and the Public Welfare Foundation Inc. The bond issue for the school was passed in 1969. SAND and DevCo, a development corporation linked to the Greater Hartford Process, which offered great attraction because of its ability to obtain mortgage money from banks, are co-developers of the 57 acre South Arsenal site. SAND will share any profits resulting from this redevelopment and reinvest them into the community to finance further development. The new South Arsenal Community will be built in 4 phases:

Phase I - 270 housing units and 8 MIAs which will cost $10 million (to be finished by 1977)
Phase II - additional housing
Phase III - commercial areas
Phase IV - light industry areas.

The total development costs including school construction costs will be approximately $45 million. Development will take place over a 20-year

period. Sharing the costs are:

HUD (The Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development)
City of Hartford
Hartford Board of Education
State of Connecticut
Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce
Greater Hartford Development Corporation.

144. SAND's projected goals and activities for 1976 give a clear picture as to where the project stands now and point to some of the hopes and difficulties that have to be dealt with in the near future. During the first quarter of 1976 SAND was planning to secure designation as developer for North Arsenal in addition to being developer for South Arsenal. It intended to acquire funds or arrange alternative means for hiring a land use planner and an economic development consultant to work with SAND and the community residents to develop a comprehensive land use plan for commerce, light industry and housing for the remaining free land in the Arsenal area and to plan overall financing for the development. During the second quarter two of the major goals were to work with the City on a comprehensive site plan for land use in Arsenal and to prepare a site plan for the commercial center. In the course of the third quarter it is foreseen that the design of the commercial center will be completed and financial arrangements for the development of the center finalised. In the fourth quarter SAND will begin to work with the City to develop financing and marketing programs to attract light industry to North Arsenal and to organise work training programs which enable the residents of Arsenal to be eligible for employment by the incoming commercial and light industry concerns. Finally, 1976 should also see the Everywhere School completed and in operation.

iv) Comments

145. The SAND Project imbedded within the Greater Hartford Process provides a new standard for problems of comprehensive planning. No other neighbourhood was visited in the course of the study which had reached the same level of consciousness, expertise and endurance, even though others certainly had similar problems. It is difficult in a fairly short description to touch on all the important details which convey the friendly and confident community spirit which strikes the newcomer to the project. Things that cause minor revolutions in other parts of the United States are taken for granted here (e.g. existing staff participate in the selec-

tion of new teachers; staff development is considered as a necessity and as serious as child development; one talks in terms of "multiple roles" and demonstrates to the children that human beings can assume more than one role - for example, a postman tuning a piano). No wonder that people continually apply to work in SAND and the number of competent volunteers supporting it is, and has been, tremendous.

146. One cannot help getting enthusiastic about the mixture of expertise from different sources and good plain common sense that has gone into creating the planning, architectural and educational solutions. At the same time they seem to be geared to the complex problems of a ghetto neighbourhood and yet draw on the latest social, educational and design approaches. A spirit of local endeavour is thereby created which in the best sense reflects the possibilities latently present in the community-based decision-making structure in the United States. SAND's success seems to be based on several factors:

- continuous leadership since the inception of the project;
- excellent expert resources and the right mix of legal, financial and educational planning expertise;
- being part of a region-wide endeavour;
- making full use of the opportunities of governmental support available at different times.

The influence of the SAND project on developments in the city is considerable. The city has not only started to adopt the SAND policy of dispersed facilities, it has also recently begun to decentralise various city departments.

The Ann Arbor Community/School Concept

147. In the same way that Hartford (to the citizens in the United States) connotes "insurance companies", Ann Arbor means the "University of Michigan". The university is by far the largest industry in the city followed by research industries which draw on its scientific resources. The old university city with a population of 100 000 is part of an urban corridor growing rapidly westwards from Detroit. Interstate Highway 94 connecting Ann Arbor with Detroit is one of seven major radial corridors changing the urbanisation pattern of the metropolitan area. Although open countryside still exists in the 35 mile distance between Ann Arbor and Detroit, it is easy to see that within a few years there will be a continuous development between the two cities. Unlike the present inner city structure, much of

this growth is unplanned in the formal sense. It responds instead to factors of location of interchange roads, competitive assembly of land by developers or the outcome of local battles over sewage and water systems. Considerable and far reaching social changes are accompanying the changes in metropolitan form. Attractive regional shopping malls are challenging downtown shopping centers; young college-educated professionals are flocking to new homes and schools in the suburbs, thus undermining the vitality and stability of the old inner city.

148. In one respect the opportunities for planning education and with it other developments in Ann Arbor are unique. Unlike most other cities where city and school district boundaries coincide, the School District of Ann Arbor includes several adjacent townships, suburban developments and rural areas. The Board of Education is, in fact, Ann Arbor's only metropolitan agency. The school district covers not only an enormous social range, but also a great complexity of inter-agency and inter-governmental relationships. Dr. Bruce McPherson, who became superintendent of the Ann Arbor Public Schools in July 1971, inherited a school district which was typically centralised in form and tradition. He also inherited a newly passed bond issue providing him with a capital program of over $12 million to build four new elementary schools and improve one existing junior high school. Prior to his appointment he had made it clear that he would take steps to decentralise the system, and make education more directly responsible to consumer and community needs.

149. In order to bring together the competing interests of agencies and jurisdictions in the metropolitan area which up to that time had hindered most efforts at comprehensive planning, the Ann Arbor Board of Education in 1971 hired Urban Design Associates (UDA) to develop a unique planning process. On the basis of their work in Pontiac, Michigan (see Part One), where they had been the planners and designers of the Human Resources Center, UDA were commissioned to:

i) develop an education master plan for the district as a whole; designed to serve as a framework or comprehensive "infrastructure" for linking resources to one another and to education throughout the metropolitan region;

ii) co-ordinate the capital program with respect to five new schools at the level of the neighbourhood or the community with a view to demonstrating how solutions could be found which would, at the same time, bring out local characteristics and relate to the whole through the infrastructure of the master plan;

iii) produce a detailed planning proposal for Slauson Junior High School and a detailed planning proposal and architectural design for Mack Elementary School as a prototype for both the capital program and the master plan; such a planning and design process would bring parents, teachers and pupils in each of the neighbourhoods into a dialogue with the agencies, etc. (some local, others regional). It would also make them focus their attention on a precise project - a building to be built and education programs to be designed - and on the project's specific role as an example - a local undertaking - within the infrastructure as a whole.

150. During the four day visit made to Ann Arbor as part of the present study, an attempt was made to find out what had happened to the district-wide community education plan, what had been implemented, what had been abandoned, and the reasons for the respective decisions taken. The proposals contained in the four volumes prepared by UDA (Volume I: Summary of Recommendations; Volume II: the Physical Masterplan; Volume III: the Education Plan; and Volume IV: the Physical and Educational Design Processes), were compared with the results of interviews in schools, at the central administration, and the University of Michigan.

a) <u>The Planning Process</u>

151. "Because of the complexity and contradictions of the political and social climate of Ann Arbor it was decided in initial discussions .... to develop a plan at the regional scale which would serve as a framework for interrelating the resources of the region, a strategy for bringing jurisdictions and agencies, institutions and citizen groups, together to discuss questions of mutual concern and advantage, using education, and particularly the present capital program, as the catalyst ... The physical master plan must be seen essentially as a statement of recommended policy, and as a series of strategies to achieve the goals of that policy. It is addressed to the region's only metropolitan agency capable of providing comprehensive leadership in addition to a capital program which can provide the implementation of at least the education components of agreed interrelated action."(1)

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1) UDA, "Summary of Recommendations", Vol. I, pages 29-30.

152. In order to provide the Board of Education with a vehicle to overcome the self-defeating balkanisation of the metropolitan area, UDA worked in collaboration with the various jurisdictions. Citizens and citizen groups were involved with regard to social services, ecology and conservation. The region as a whole was seen as a "system". The infrastructural net was made up of highways, the river, major land uses, and open spaces. Superimposed on these were a jurisdictional structure, a demographic structure, a utilities structure, etc. And within these various structures a rich inventory of human, institutional and commercial resources were found which were poorly related to each other and hardly utilised by the educational system.

153. The plan covers not only the whole but is also divided into six major quadrants, delimited by the Huron River Valley, by expressways, major secondary roads, and the University: one in the northeast, two on the west side, two in the southeast, and one comprising the Ann Arbor-Ypsilanti corridor. Each of these quadrants is perceived as a "mini-system", providing a comprehensible locally-scaled framework for inter-relating resources.

> "The education master plan is conceived as a framework, a strategy for accommodating growth and change in a period of transition, and a procedure for maximizing on resources for the enrichment of the educational experience. The framework calls for the creation of two new staff offices in the central administration:
>
> Office of Community and External Affairs
> Office of Program and Staff Development
>
> The purpose of the Office of Community and External Affairs is to coordinate education programs with local and regional resources, and will be concerned with inter-agency relationships and programs. The Office of Program and Staff Development, on the other hand, is intended to develop human resources and skills within the education system, assist in the design and development of programs at the local or decentral level, and coordinate the programming and supply of media."(1)

154. To emphasize the role of both agencies in co-ordination and implementation it was recommended that ad hoc groups, designed to respond to local situations, be set up and supported by both offices mentioned above. The local planning processes for each school, which were subsequently established during the two-year period of planning and implementation, had many

1) UDA, op.cit., page 33.

problems associated with them. None of the participants had previous experience in planning at this scale. In fact, no master plan at the metropolitan level, coupled with a capital program, would immediately be implemented at the local level. Social and personal conflicts erupted into crises of various sorts during the period under review. One of the top administrators committed suicide, meetings were at times interrupted by physical violence, and one of the Board of Education buildings was destroyed by arson. Although the planning processes probably provided the occasion for some of these crises to erupt, the processes were certainly not the cause.

155. Everyone at the central administration was new. They were forced to move with a great deal of urgency because the construction of two schools, Mack and Slauson, had been promised in a previous capital program funded by a bond issue. Local committees associated with those projects had already done considerable programming work. Therefore, the central administration allowed the consultants and local committees to have a free planning rein, provided they did not exceed the cost ceiling of the bond issue. At the time this seemed a wise policy. But things turned out differently. There were in fact many decisions which had to be made centrally, e.g. budget priorities, staffing policies, agreements with teachers' unions, inter-agency negotiations use of technologies, supplies, state and federal programs, etc. It happened that local committees, having made one decision, discovered later that it either could not be accepted at the central level or had to be modified. This slowly eroded the central administration's credibility with the local committees at some pivotal points in the planning process.

156. The consultants fell into a similar trap. When local committees were less confident about a particular issue because of the absence of representatives from the central administration, they would turn to the consultants for an opinion. Thus, put in the position of a surrogate for the central administration and keen on describing the issues as openly as possible, the consultants usually offered too many options which led to confusion. As the program grew more complex and ambiguities became more frequent, these difficulties finally eroded the objective status of the consultants. The hard fact emerged that democracy works best when issues are properly defined, and everyone involved in choice and decision works on the issues together.

157. In the light of these experiences, UDA therefore recommended that:

"The central administration should be part of the local processes from the beginning and all the way through. This will get over a number of problems. It will resolve the central/decentral dichotomy. It will sensitize the central administration to local issues. The coordination of local issues with overall District policies will be better informed and more efficient. And consultants will not be put in the position of being the central administration's surrogates.

The object of the critical path is to design a product-oriented process. There is work to be done, and positive steps to be taken, to move from point A to point B, and from B to C. It should be clear by now that the central administration, like the local committees, has positive inputs to make, in the form of prepared materials and key decisions, if the process is to move forward efficiently.

There are also inputs to be made by other agencies, such as city and county planning, health, parks, and library services, to mention only a few. These inputs should be shown on the critical path, so that all concerned have a clear picture of their role in the process, when it will occur, and its contribution to the final product.

It is particularly important that not only the top central administration (policy and decision makers) should be involved, but also the middle-level management of the district-wide administration, the people who are responsible for the implementation of specific programs. This will have the effect of informing them why certain things or changes are asked for; it will enable the process to benefit from their practical knowledge and experience; and it will assist to re-establish the credibility of middle-level management with teachers and parents in contrast with the history of bad breakdowns with which the consultants were confronted.

It may be important also for the non-education agencies to consider introducing some of their middle-management people for particular inputs, for the same reasons ...

The critical path must be reviewed and if necessary modified or redesigned with every major change of direction; ..."(1)

These recommendations either came too late (the Summary Report, Vol. I, was addressed to the new superintendent who replaced McPherson) or they were ignored. At any rate, they were never implemented.

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1) UDA, op. cit., page 42.

158. Even though the intention to decentralise decision-making seems to have been a reason for McPherson's election it was also a reason for his dismissal in 1973. According to the new superintendent, Dr Harry Howard, his predecessor proceeded too fast in giving schools their autonomy and by doing so set back the decentralisation movement about ten years. In spite of its internal problems and conflicts, and in spite of the lack of prototypical processes, Ann Arbor, nonetheless, achieved a series of innovative products in a remarkably short period of time The most complete of these was Mack School which will be described in more detail later. Others are the physical and educational master plans which will now be described.

b) The Physical Master Plan

159. In the case of Ann Arbor, for the various reasons outlined above, the master plan and action plans were developed simultaneously. The master plan which grew out of experiences at the local level makes no attempt at precise projections in terms of population or physical settlement patterns. Instead it presents an infrastructural net in which the Board of Education is regarded as one service agency among others servicing the various components of the net. Local amenities are considered as time-space-resources for the school and its programs. Citizens, parents, teachers and pupils are regarded as human resources. Instead of forecasting what the future will be like the plan concentrates on showing how various public and private agencies operate today and how their services may interrelate in the future for the greater enrichment of the social and individual lives of the community.

160. In spite of its capacity to plan comprehensively, the Board of Education as an autonomous metropolitan agency has not the power to implement its plan. For this it needs the co-operation of all the other agencies. Neither the physical master plan nor the mini-systems have yet been implemented. The new superintendent when interviewed expressed the feeling that "the ground work wasn't done properly". The other possible reason, according to other informed sources at the University of Michigan, is that the Board of Education and the city planning and other agencies do not work together closely enough to initiate the city-wide changes necessary to tie the schools together in the way planned.

c) The Education Plan

161. The creation of the education plan which deals mainly with the internal educational organisation of the newly planned schools stems from the recognition that the role of education had to change. Like in the majority

of school districts in the United States, the schools in Ann Arbor were single self-contained organisational units, without any internal sub-units larger than the classroom. Spaces were generalised and repetitive except for specialised areas such as gymnasia, laboratories and workshops which did not vary from school to school except that some were painted sage green and others cream. The organisation was based on external criteria rather than on individual needs. The new educational concept for Ann Arbour, in contrast, focuses on the needs and talents of pupils, teachers, administrators and parents. Using decentralisation as an inductive process, places and programs for individual pupils are developed in specific local situations. Home bases, learning units, special areas, resource centers, and intermediate transitional areas are the main organisational units (see Figure 14).

d) Correlation of the Education Plan and the Physical Master Plan

102. In addition to a fuller realisation of contacts within the Community College, the University and the school system, the following programs have been included in the proposals for co-operation:

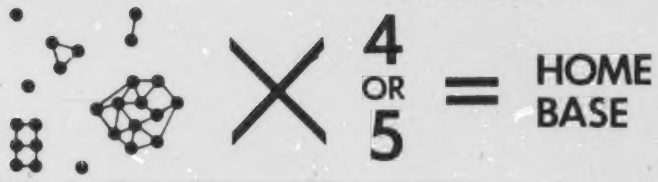
- adult and community education
- career education
- arts
- language arts
- student teaching programs
- special education
- psychology and counseling
- teacher exchange
- social science field studies
- field work for advanced graduates.

Further programs in management, technology, ecology, business methods, finance, the arts, etc. provide opportunities for meeting community needs such as mid-career education, cultural programs, community recreation, etc.

> "The role of the school as 'community center' is theoretically similar. It too can be a home base for adults. By combining an arts center, a library, a recreation center, a social services center, an ecology center, a careers and vocational center including workshops, and a social center where parents and citizens can come to be together, to eat and talk together, to hold meetings on subjects of special concern

Figure 14

THE ORGANISATIONAL UNITS IN THE ANN ARBOR EDUCATIONAL CONCEPT



The Home Base

Each individual belongs to a home base. The home base is composed of a series of learning units which vary in size and student composition according to subject matter. Within the learning unit the individual student may be on his own, in dialogue, or in a group, depending on needs.

1
DECENTRAL SEMI-AUTONOMOUS

HOME BASE

HUMAN SCALE NON-GRADED

2
RESOURCE CENTERS LABS

SPECIAL CENTRAL AREAS

WORKSHOPS EXHIBITIONS

3
COUNSELING GROUP DISCUSSIONS

INTERMEDIATE TRANSITIONAL AREAS

BASIC SKILLS LEARNING GAMES

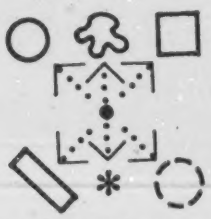
The Learning Unit

Within the home base there are one or more learnings units, depending on the size and organization of each school...

The learning unit has no more resemblance to the traditional class than its size. It may contain a vertical mix of students (age, level of achievement), and certainly should contain a horizontal mix (sex, background, range of interest).

Within his learning unit the individual is serviced in three ways:

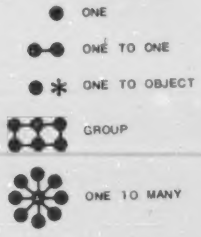
- the home base;
- special central areas;
- intermediate transitional areas...



SPECIAL AREAS AND RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO EVERY INDIVIDUAL

Special Central Areas

The special central areas are the hub of curriculum. They are technical and specialized places with emphasis on using special facilities and materials, and staffed by faculty with special technical expertise. The areas are thus designed and structured to enable the student to develop in terms of simple pursuits or through a full range of multi-cultural and multi-disciplinary experience...



Intermediate Transitional Areas

To be effective in the special central areas, the individual has to have basic skills and concepts. These include basic language, communication, reading, and quantitative skills. They depend on an understanding of basic assumptions, principles, concepts, and value formation.

The intermediate transitional areas are organised to provide these. The individual develops his skills in a variety of settings:

- working alone;
- working in dialogue (two students, a student and a counselor);
- working with materials and objects;
- working in groups;
- articulating to groups.

and interest, etc., the school becomes a community center in a true sense, and is also enormously enrichening the education it offers to children."(1)

163. This all-inclusive view of the school as a community center has been somewhat reduced by the new administration. Altogether, allocations to the community education program for 1976 were less than 1% of the total budget. Reflective of this community de-emphasis, the Community Education Department's name has been changed to Continuing and Community Education Department. Mainly centered around recreational and adult education, it does, however, include a representative cross section of the Ann Arbor schools: 25 elementary, 5 intermediate, 2 high schools and 2 alternative educational programs - altogether 35 schools.

164. Another essential part of the decentralised and totally individualised instruction program introduced in the McPherson era was a fully automated computer system to support the administrative structures in linking pupils' choices and educational resources in terms of scheduling and management. This rather expensive device which cost approximately $400,000 in terms of programming and consulting time and which never was fully operationalised was abandoned as soon as the new administration moved in.

165. One advantage in Ann Arbor proved to be that the Recreation Department as well as the Public Libraries service are part of the Board of Education. Recreation programs are jointly financed (fifty-fifty) by the Board and the City of Ann Arbor and the operational tax support for recreation in 1975-76 totals $237 735 of which $123 585 came from the Public Schools and $114 150 from the City. During 1974-75, approximately 248 000 adults and children participated in active and passive recreation programs. Some of the most successful programs which attracted participants are: the Junior Theater Program (an outgrowth of the Cultural Arts Program which provides high quality children's theater), the Senior Citizen Program, a program for the handicapped, sports and art fairs. The Recreation Department utilises most of the thirty-six public schools and assists the Continuing Education and Community School Department in organising Community School programs. Through co-operation with the City Parks and Recreation, the three artificial ice rinks and outdoor swimming pools, baseball and softball diamonds and the six natural ice rinks, provide the Recreation Department with additional facilities to service the citizens with community recreation needs.

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1) UDA, op.cit., page 78.

e) Examples of Cases Implemented

166. Although the five new schools and the one school renovation which formed the major proportion of the capital program were not originally to represent a cross-section of metropolitan characteristics, this is exactly what they do:

- Mack and Slauson are inner city schools, one elementary, the other junior high;
- Bryant Community School in the southeast section serves an older but still growing suburban community;
- Northeast is situated in a new suburban community with a high percentage of graduate students from the University of Michigan;
- Dixboro is located in a suburban community which abuts open countryside.

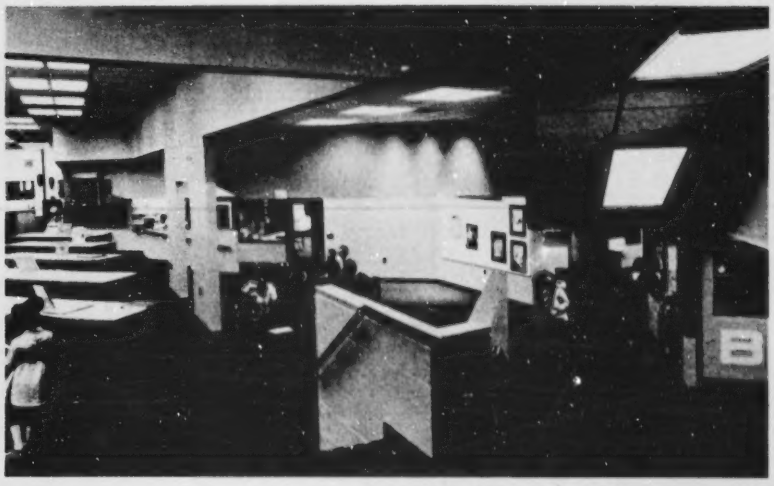
In spite of the ups and downs, delays and discontinuities, in the meantime, all the five new schools have been built but Slauson has not yet been renovated. Mack, which included the most far reaching inter-agency use programs, carried the main thrusts of the physical and educational master plan into effect. Its site relates directly to the planned "mini-system", and parents and teachers were involved in the planning process.

i) Mack

167. In October 1971 the central administration was of the opinion that the existing Mack elementary building would have to be demolished to make way for a new facility. However, UDA's community process not only established a strong bond with the old school - many parents and grandparents of the children there had been educated in the old school - but it also proved that the Tudor-style brick building could be usefully remodelled and serve as a community wing. Aided by their city-wide planning experience, UDA found that the downtown branch of the county community college was ready to use the upper two levels, while a social services and community center could be situated on the lower level-and-a-half. Social services include a health and dental clinic, a community lounge and meeting rooms, and accommodation for adult education. Arts facilities include studios for crafts, drama and music. The theatre was restored for joint usage. Two new wings had to be added:

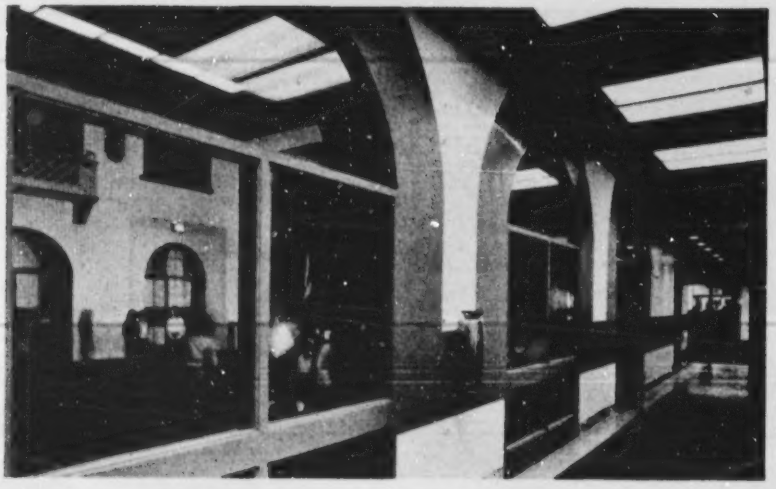
- the elementary school wing designed in accordance with the education plan;

PEB Secretariat



Joseph W. Molitor

Story corner in new school wing



Joseph W. Molitor

Multi-purpose room in the old renovated building.

- and the indoor recreation building, containing a community gymnasium, an olympic-size swimming pool and locker rooms.

Both wings are built on an axis rotated 45 degrees to that of the old building, forming entrances at the grid intersections. The old building with its leaded lights, castellions and flying buttresses was treated as a jewel in a new setting of deliberately neutral additions without strong articulation. Funded by the Board of Education, the City, and the Federal Model Cities Program, the entire construction and reconstruction costs amounted to $2 million for altogether 68 000 sq. ft. (6 320 m^2) of space. (See Figures 15 and 16).

168. According to an interview in January 1976 with Robert L. Potts, Assistant Superintendent for Human Relations and Community Services, Mack Elementary School is still the only school in Ann Arbor which, from an architectural point of view, might be called a community school. All the other newly built schools have few specific community features, except wings that can be closed off or special entrances for sports facilities. Mr. Potts added that financial restrictions at the moment preclude any additional costs for building community facilities.

169. In view of this, it seems even more disappointing to find that Mack is not used to its full capacity. Neighbourhood participation in programming uses hardly exists anymore although the recreation wing, with its olympic-size swimming pool and gymnasium, is frequented not only by the community but by the entire city. The beautifully restored community wing in the old school is only used by a few groups, regularly, and for larger programs, occasionally. The major reasons seem to be severe problems between the school and the central administration, on the one hand, and lack of communication between the City and the Board of Education on the other. Typical for the lack of communication between the school and its central agency was the fact that the latter gave the information that there were no full-time, professional community co-ordinators in any of the Ann Arbor schools. In Mack, however, the community co-ordinator has two masters degrees and works 40-60 hours per week (being paid only part-time). He felt that more support, mainly in financial terms, was needed to run the community part of the school effectively. In contrast, the superintendent in the central administration felt that community involvement and use of Mack's facilities was mainly an organisational problem.

170. A number of positive facts remain: as a facility, Mack is outstanding and, given the right combination of people, will probably flourish as

Figure 15

SITE PLAN OF MACK SCHOOL

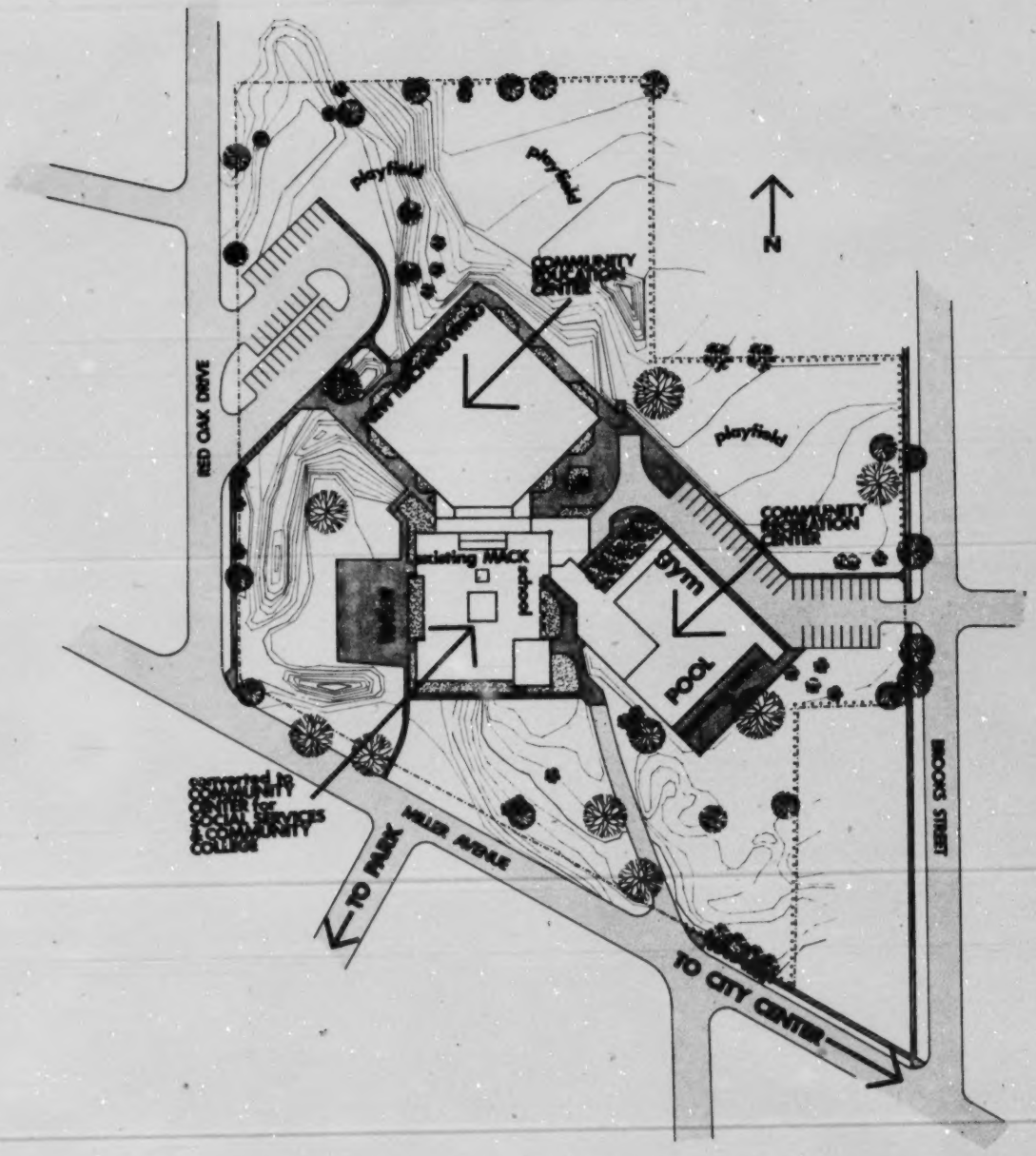


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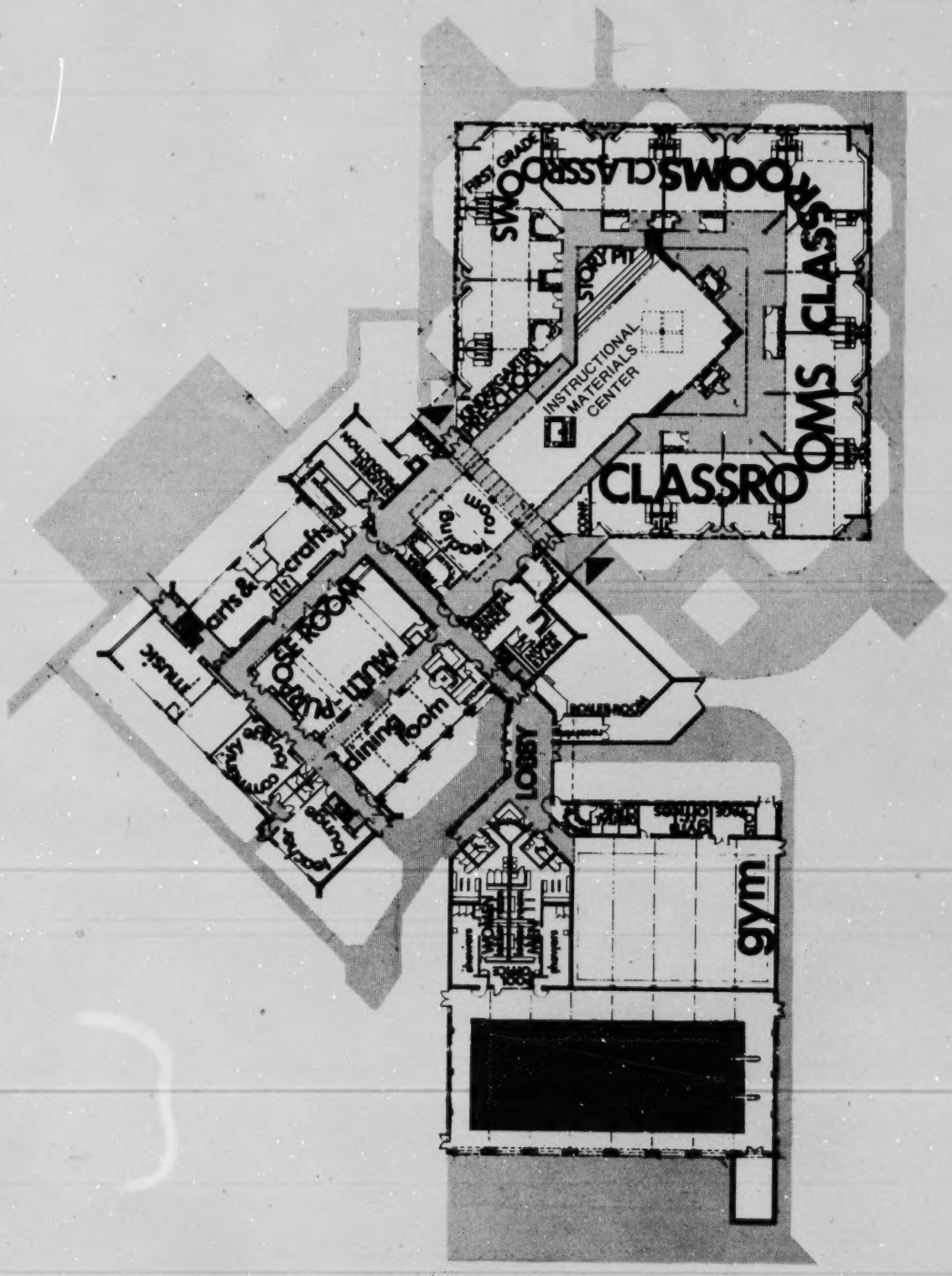
Figure 16

FLOOR PLAN OF MACK SCHOOL



a community center. With its lawns and park which were designed to form an integral part of northwest mini-system, it has created a new atmosphere of hope which finds its expression in the renovated and expensive newly constructed houses in the immediate catchment area. Karl Grube at the University of Michigan, who has invested several years of research in the relationships of school sites and real estate values, informed us that the houses built around Mack exceed the average price in Ann Arbor for a house that size by $5-6 000. This is just one example of the increase in real estate values which follows the co-ordination of recreational and educational uses in school/park combinations. Another important indication of the positive influence of the new school on its catchment area is that white people have begun to move back into the area. The turn-over of property has stabilised; the school has high attendance rates; vandalism has gone down; and the staff and children are delighted to work in Mack.

ii) Bryant School

171. Bryant School, in the southeast quadrant of the city, was the first of the capital program schools to be built and occupied. The Bryant community grew during a major development scandal. Instead of the government-stipulated mix of low and medium income housing, the developer built only low-income units. This meant bigger families and larger schools. In addition the developer donated a school site which had drainage problems and thus required additional funds. In spite of the delays, arising out of zoning and annexation procedures, the urgency of need and a determined committee of parents and teachers led to the rapid construction of the open plan school (see Figure 17).

172. In 1972 the lack of recreation facilities and social service agencies caused a group of parents to form an incorporated body called Bryant Neighborhood Steering Committee. Its constitutional goals are:

"To continue to support and enhance educational programs.

To continue to investigate the nutritional needs of the Bryant Community and to continue to work, to develop, and deliver programs where needed.

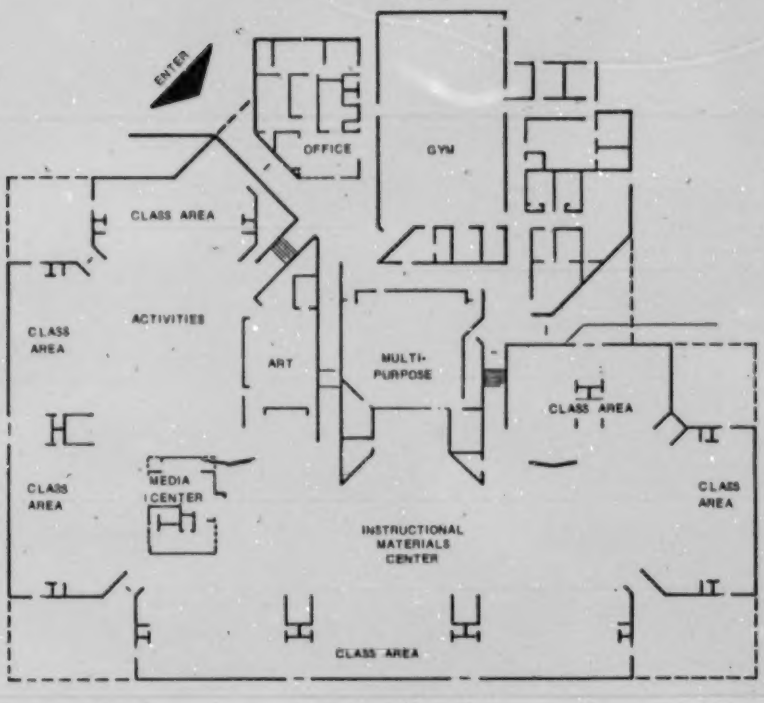
To continue to develop and enhance:

a) recreational
b) skill building programs, and
c) socialization programs accessible to the residents of the Bryant Neighborhoods.

To provide supportive counseling services for the residents of the Bryant Neighborhoods.

Figure 17

FLOOR PLAN OF BRYANT SCHOOL



To continue to support and encourage the delivering of comprehensive health care services accessible to the residents of the Bryant Neighborhoods.

To encourage and support the development of youth training and employment services.

To further encourage and coordinate the involvement of community residents with that of other community resources and assist in the continuing development of grass roots leadership.(1)

173. During their first year of incorporation, 15 people from the neighbourhood representing 1 500 families and 5 social service agencies served on the committee. Thereafter, direct community representation replaced representatives from the agencies. All members serve on a volunteer basis. Decision-making rests with the committee which is elected on a yearly basis. One of the initial activities of the committee was a door to door survey to find out what people perceived as being their needs. A Legal Aid Service and a Well Child Clinic (preventative program and examination) were ranked among the top priorities and were among the first services

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1) Bryant Neighborhood Steering Committee Constitution.

to be provided. In contrast to Mack where a sizable community facility is not used to its full extent, the Bryant Neighborhood Steering Committee had to lease one of the empty houses in the neighbourhood to accommodate offices and social services. The school does not provide enough space to accommodate these functions. Another difference is a supporting grant of $15 000 from the city to pay for a Bryant community co-ordinator, a youth worker, consultants, space, supplies and equipment.

f) Examples of Further Developments

i) Teaching - Learning Communities

174. An interesting and inexpensive model of enriching the schools' human resources is a city-wide program which originated six years ago and is known as the Retired Senior Volunteer Program, successfully re-organised and broadened during the past two years. Now called Teaching-Learning Communities, it links senior citizens' experiences and pupils' needs in the field of arts and crafts. Ann Arbor, as a university city, chronically short of grandparents, calls its senior citizens involved in this program "grandpersons", and has set up 246 projects involving 150 grandpersons in 8 schools. About 100 students per week are served by this program in which one actually has a hard time distinguishing who is serving whom. Does the grandperson help the pupil or is it the other way around, or both ways?

175. The program is inexpensive to operate and, therefore, of great interest to other communities. One portion of its funds has been allocated to evaluate, document and determine accurately the differences between schools in their implementation of the teaching-learning communities concept. Such differences do, indeed, exist and are partly due to such variables as the school principal, art teacher, physical plant, and health, age and skills of the grandperson volunteers.

ii) Community High School

176. Another example of how old school structures can be used for new programs is the old Fritz Elementary School, built in 1922. With 16 classrooms and about 450 pupils, it served as an elementary school until the late 60's when it was replaced by new facilities in adjacent areas and became a temporary administrative building for the Board of Education and Central Resource Center. In 1973 when new administrative facilities had been built, it was given over to Community High School - CHS (also with about 450 pupils), a "parkway" type school which provides an educational alternative for Ann Arbor's high school population. Dedicated to individualised instruction and the use of community resources as the basis

of its curriculum, it also sets an important precedent for Ann Arbor in serving the entire city. Pupils who are successful at Community High are those who function best in a climate of low competition and high student-oriented authority structure.

177. Traditional courses are offered during the regular school day in the Community High School building. Courses at other high schools are also open to the pupils if they want classes which are not offered at Community High. Through their teachers, pupils are able to overcome difficult scheduling problems. They use the hourly shuttle bus (frequently they also provide their own transportation) to take advantage of educational opportunities across the entire district.

> "Community High School changes the emphasis of the teacher's role. Teachers teach some specific courses, but also have a major responsibility to help a limited number of students (22) design, pursue and evaluate their own learning activities. This is accomplished in the forum. Its purpose it to:
>
> a) assess the educational progress of each student
> b) foster effective communication
> c) monitor the development of essential skills
> d) implement cultural and social activities
> e) provide a 'home base' in the school for each student
> f) earn credit toward graduation, amount of credit depends on the project selected by the group
> g) students choose their own forum teachers."(1)

Any pupil within the Ann Arbor School District, in grades 9 through 12, is welcome to apply for admission. The school usually can accommodate all applications. In 1975-76 it served 400 pupils. 50% of the credits are taken in regular classes, 30% in the community resources program, less than 10% in other high schools, the rest through testing and independent study with faculty members. The "Community Resource Guide" comprises a vast number of possible courses in arts, business, foreign languages, home economics, industrial arts, language arts, mathematics, music, physical education, science, and social studies.

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1) Community High School flyer.

178. The conclusions of an in-depth agency study done towards the end of 1974 by the University of Michigan's School of Social Work widely confirms the impression of an extremely alive learning environment:

> "Overall autonomy in CHS is high due to the high degree of professionalization and the low degree of external control. Employees felt that CHS was a very good place to work for many reasons most notably, freedom to exercise their own views and techniques.
>
> Also nearly unanimous was the personnel agreement with the goals and policies of the organization, and achievement motivation was high.
>
> Communication effectiveness was viewed as high according to the results. Information concerning changes in operation and practice within the agency was shared by all as well as information concerning the community.
>
> Community High School personnel felt a keen sense of personnel (sic) power over exercise of their work and work decisions. Organizational goals were clearly understood by members of this agency. In addition goals were viewed as feasible in regards to accomplishment. Perceptions of leadership behaviour were highly favorable. Such variables as support, personal worth, encouragement, satisfying relationships, and competence received high ratings.
>
> Emphasis upon service, vis-à-vis rules and procedures indicated significant orientation to service.
>
> Quality and quantity of service were values held in common by members of CHS.
>
> Because our findings were so overwhelmingly positive on so many variables, they do tend to support each other.
>
> . . . It is apparent that CHS is an organization dedicated to the development of humanistic principles in its relationships with staff, students and community. 'Maximum individuality within maximum community' could well be its banner."(1)

179. The observations made in the course of the study visit support these findings. The principal's office, almost always open, was situated next to the main entrance. Discussions and organisational work, spontaneity

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1) Linda Banks et al., "Agency Study, Community High School", University of Michigan, School of Social Work, December 1974.

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Meeting to select new staff

and structure happened simultaneously. In a meeting for the selection of a new teacher, a new secretary and janitorial staff, student teachers and staff members made decisions together. Questions were open, self-criticism part of the process and everything took place in a generally relaxed atmosphere. Community High School was one of the most exciting places visited in Ann Arbor. The old building was used casually and seemed suited in many ways. Murals demonstrated some excellent, some mediocre talent but made a personal statement indicating "this building is ours". It should be noted that for several years now Community High has had the largest number of honor pupils of all the Ann Arbor High Schools, compared to the total number of pupils. (This information did not come from the school itself but from one of the parents interviewed.)

180. Community High School got started on the premise that in order to provide an educational alternative which enlarges its capacity by the extensive use of community resources, it would only need an empty facility instead of a highly equipped secondary school facility. This assumption had to be revised during the first year when it became clear that a basic stock of books and media was needed for the proper functioning of the school. On the other hand, it needs very much fewer specialised and highly equipped areas (e.g. for chemistry, physics, biology, arts, etc.) since pupils use laboratories in the University and private workshops; e.g. of local artisans or other agencies. There is, however, a higher demand for meeting rooms and offices for the co-ordination and planning of schedules and courses. An interesting addition is the small crèche which serves pupil mothers and fathers as well as the immediate neighbourhood, and is staffed by the pupils themselves in shifts. In terms of providing a relevant economic educational alternative for the future, Community High School seems to surpass any of the models which have been described in this report. The important question which has not been answered yet (as there are only few examples of its kind) is to which extent can it be implemented on a city-wide scale without depleting community resources?

Comments

181. Ann Arbor's city-wide process for planning educational facilities in co-ordination with other social services, offers a number of valuable lessons:

i) in terms of citizen participation:

- in innumerable instances problems or issues arise which have been encountered or worked through in a similar process in another part of the city; therefore, procedures of cross reference should be set up to avoid duplication of efforts as far as possible; methods might include sending delegates from each local planning committee to at least one other committee, monthly meetings of representatives from all local planning processes, distribution of working papers, seminars, and discussions on purposes and aspects of planning;

ii) in terms of central administration and consultants:

- central administration and local committees should work together to brief consultants on local issues and goals; all three together should set out a timetable and critical path for the entire process with interim target dates;

iii) in terms of process:

- the process which involves consumers in multi-agency planning and direction should not stop at the achievement of the building; in order to carry it further, new issues and ways for meaningful participation must be found and supported.

182. Although possibilities for comparison are limited, there are some interesting common features and differences in the Hartford and Ann Arbor city-wide models. The differences between the SAND and Mack planning processes explain to some extent their different ways of functioning. Mack never had the strong neighbourhood organisation in which SAND is built. (In this way SAND is probably more comparable to the Dunbar High School and Community Center in Baltimore which grew out of a similarly strong local citizen group and where citizen participation has now become institutionalised in the sense that supporters and activists in the planning process were given permanent jobs in the center.) In addition, SAND employed local community co-ordinators, architects and consultants on a continuing basis which the Ann Arbor processes did not. The Ann Arbor educational and cost consultants came from San Francisco and Baltimore; the architect/planners came from Pittsburgh; and the community co-ordinator had moved to Ann Arbor from Los Angeles.

183. The facilities aspects in both projects are important. The Everywhere School in SAND and Mack in Ann Arbor began with more decentralised models than they finally provide. Both the educational plan and physical master plan for Ann Arbor were aiming at a decentralised net of educational facilities along a greenbelt. At one stage in the planning process all specialised facilities within a school like Mack were to be clustered in small buildings along this park and connected by pedestrian and bicycle paths. The urgency of implementing the capital program in Ann Arbor and increased costs precluded this solution. The SAND project, although not yet built, has achieved a decentralised plan. The original intention to build the Everywhere School within the housing projects, however, had to be abandoned for funding reasons, and the school will be built in separate small buildings on one site.

184. Interestingly enough, the most vigorous and innovative educational programs in Ann Arbor and Hartford operate in buildings that were not planned for this purpose. The first MIA of the Everywhere School still operates in the renovated warehouse. Ann Arbor's Alternative Community High School program uses an old elementary school. In contrast to Mack, extended and renovated to an architectural design, Community High and the

SAND warehouse have been shaped and changed by their users. The striking sense of creativity noticed in both places seems to depend largely on this direct user input. In the adapted schools more spontaneous uses were found and stronger personal expressions through colourful paintings and arrangements of furniture than in any of the new schools visited. It seems as if children, teachers and parents need to develop new methods to include the architect in shaping their environment rather than the other way around.

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USER PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING AND DESIGN

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INTRODUCTION

1. Co-ordination of school and community facilities means different things to different people. To some, it is economically justifiable to examine the overlaps between the different social services which the governments of various countries supply to their urban and rural communities, and to attempt to co-ordinate them and even physically combine them. To other people, co-ordination represents an improvement in the quality of the service itself. Certainly to the consumer, co-ordination makes life a lot easier.

2. But co-ordination relates to other factors besides economic and administrative efficiency. It relates to the somewhat deeper social trend toward decentralization and local self-determination which is being witnessed in many countries throughout the world. The following paper is an attempt to address this aspect of co-ordination, and to describe some of the planning mechanisms which have evolved in situations where it has occurred. The paper should be read in particular relation to two others published in the present series: "From Individual Projects towards City-Wide Networks" by Margrit Kennedy in the present volume (page 25) and "Inter-Sectoral Issues" by Thierry Malan in Building for School and Community : I. Policies and Strategies, page 11.

Technology versus Local Cultural Identity

3. One of the by-products of twentieth century technology is universal culture. Machines, electric power, telecommunications and computers have blurred the historic contrasts between national cultures, as they have between cities and rural areas, and between neighborhoods within cities themselves. Traditional skills have been undermined by mass consumer production. Few families in the world still make their own clothes, houses, or tools, or sing the songs of their traditions, or tell folktales to their children, or even make their own bread.

4. Technology has, of course, enormously increased the range of our choices. Any modern shopping center, with its air-conditioned mall

resplendent with exotic trees, birds and fountains, offers to ordinary people inventories and choices in food, clothes, appliances and artifacts unknown fifty years ago to even the richest emperor. Yet the most insidious impact of technology on the form and culture of cities turns out to be, not variety, but sameness.

5. Apart from minor differences, suburbs are much the same in every country. So are big buildings - apartment blocks, office towers shining in the sunlight, government buildings, hospitals, schools, industries, and international hotels. They are the same in Germany and Sweden as they are in Australian, South American or African cities.

6. Not only buildings, but consumer products are the same in every country too. The inventories of our choices may be wider than they have ever been in all of human history - but they are the same in Santiago or Sydney as they are in Seattle or Stockholm. Because the languages of technology and of consumer production are international, their impact on our daily lives has been to erode local cultures and traditions. And because the goal of educational systems in every country has been, for several decades, to enter its human products into the middle class mainstream of international technocracy, their impact has been, in turn, to paralyze our capacities for individual expression and creativeness. It is on this last point that I want to focus, particularly in relation to cities and to the changing roles of citizens in them.

Education versus Self-Expression

7. In our modern world we begin the process of undermining the traditions of self-expression while our children are very young.

8. One might say that education resembles a pyramid in its form. When a child begins his learning experience, at the broad base of the pyramid, he is given the greatest freedom and encouragement to express himself and to create and invent. His materials - water, sand, clay, paper, colors, blocks, etc. - are all multi-contextual. They can be used in an almost infinite variety of ways; they encourage self-expression and invention.

9. At the other end of his educational experience, the narrowing point of the pyramid, our student emerges from school or university with a "specialization" which his teachers have attempted, by means of curriculum, selection of materials, and discipline, to shape as a "saleable skill" in a technocratic middle class world. Between the two, the base of the pyramid and its apex, the students' capacity to invent and create has been systematically diminished. The parents and teachers who encourage

creativeness and invention in young children simultaneously reward conformity, predictability and "direction" in young adults. If, as occasionally happens, a young adult retains his capacity to be inventive and self-expressive in spite of the pressures of the system to conform, and if on leaving high school or the university he does not "fit a mould", his parents and teachers become intensely concerned that he may not be able to earn a living and that he will be a "social misfit".

Institutionalization of Education

10. Looking at the educational pyramid in what one may call a geographic context, we discover that the base of the pyramid occurs at first in the home, and then in a nursery school, a day care center or a kindergarten; and as a rule these are located in the neighborhood. In other words the period of maximum creativity and exploration occurs in the context of a familiar real world of neighbors and friends, and home and street. But as the child grows up, this education becomes more institutionalized and further removed from the living contexts of his community.

11. A typical secondary or high school is a large building, and many students travel long distances from their homes every day to get to it. Whether it is old or new, it has its own architectural image. It stands apart. You know it is a school. And if your eye is practiced, you can even tell what kind of school it is and what is taught there.

12. Although the real world is all around, the secondary or high school is a separate artificial mini-world. It has its own library, laboratories, workshops, food services, and park system; and it has its own government, and its own rules, rewards and punishments. Most subjects are taught by simulation. A strict censorship is imposed called curriculum. Students are provided with carefully selected materials and they are allowed to work only within prescribed limits, timetables, patterns and sequences. There are few encouragements to develop intrinsic ideas or constructs in the way they were when they were very young.

Exclusion of Local Resources from Curricula in Education

13. The cultural environment of the everyday life of students is excluded from curricula and materials. For example, little effort is made in most schools to use the vitality of, say, direct observation, street language or slang as mainsprings in the study of language or poetry; or jazz and hard rock, or even street sounds, in the study of music or composition. And it is an unusual school in which local industries and ecology are used

as the mainsprings of science. Instead the world is studied exclusively at second or third hand, through the literature, sciences, art and music of others. In the few instances in which the resources of the city are used directly they tend to be places like museums or art galleries, themselves institutions, places to which fragments of the real world have been transported, labelled and put up for exhibition after being removed from the actual and living contexts which gave birth to them.(1) Only in very rare cases do the resources of the city turn out to be workshops where students can participate and make things, or artists' studios where students are encouraged to paint or sculpt.

14. Of course many teachers will say that students at secondary or high school levels "are not to be trusted" in environments of this kind, because they might do something irresponsible or "silly". And they are probably right, because the students they are referring to are near the apex of the educational pyramid and have already had some years of training in the mistrust of their own personal sensitivity and self-expression, and of the self-expression of their friends, families and peer groups around them. As a result of years of institutionalized training, in which patterns of conduct and processes of thought have been imposed, the student has lost his sense of direct personal responsibility. "Being a citizen" is today a result of training and conformity, rather than the assumption of broader and broader responsibilities based on direct interpersonal relationships and feelings.

15. It is ironical that this phase of education takes place during what we call "the formative years". In other words, the years in which our attitudes and drives are developing most rapidly is when the pyramid narrows, and when education is at its most institutionalized, controlled and simulative.

Education and Middle Class Sameness

16. As we have said, the goal of education in most countries is to enter its human products into the middle class mainstream. The successful

1) Simon Nicholson, Director of the Oxford Research Unit in Great Britain's Open University, has drawn the distinction between inert and inventive. "The inert person reads other people's books, becomes able, within limits, to criticize and understand the work of others, and watches performances by others, such as, for example, watching one-way TV. Contrasting with this, the inventive person writes books, generates ideas, cooks meals, has theories, makes art, and shapes and builds the environment that is his or her own. In theory we all have the chance to be either inert or inventive, but in practice our physical, social and political environment conditions most of us to be inert." Children as Planners, The Open University, Milton Keynes, England, April 1974.

student comes out of the educational process with a marketable skill. By "marketable" we mean that he has read the books, mastered the methods, and satisfied the examiners, enabling him to be qualified or "certified" to find a specialized slot for himself in today's world of international technology and commerce. Indeed it is now common for curricula, particularly in technical schools, to be modified from year to year, not in response to the individual needs and interests of students, but to the demands of the job market. And because educational systems are simulative and objective, and have transcended localism and the individual, the successful student can theoretically find his job anywhere.

17. It is common for scientists, engineers and technicians to move from city to city, and from country to country, in accord with the demands of assignments and careers, transcending language and cultural obstacles. Having no roots is a merchandisable advantage. The technical staffs of international corporations require rootlessness. The average American or Canadian family moves from one city to another every four and a half years. The Internal Revenue Service of the U.S. Government recognizes such movement as a way of business life and allows a one hundred per cent tax exemption for it.

18. Indeed it now becomes clear that this transient market is one of the reasons why suburbs tend to be so similar everywhere. A family which buys a suburban house gives priority, not to personal choice, but to investment related to resaleability. The developer of apartments, whether he is a private sector investor as in the United States or a government department as in Sweden and other European countries, instructs his architect to design for the transient market; and in rental agreements and apartment management strict covenants are placed against the self-expression of an individual or a family on the living environment.(1)

Penalities of Failure

19. Education systems, bent on integrating their products into the mainstream of technological employment, have turned their backs on sub-cultures. Not recognizing the way people actually live in cities and their needs for roots implies rejection.

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1) Irvine, a new town south of Los Angeles, California, is being built as a series of neighborhoods. Each neighborhood is designed and built with its own architect and developer. The result is an apparent diversity and vitality. But diversity and vitality are frozen, since the sales agreement which every house purchaser signs has a covenant preventing the owner from making any modifications to his unit, including color.

20. The successful student, certificate in hand, heads for the suburbs. He graduates, not only from his educational system, but from his urban subculture and his neighborhood as well. But when the young adult with an inner city background fails, he has indeed little to turn to. Far from it being an advantage, having no roots in either family or community is, according to social psychologists, the most common cause of crime, vandalism and prostitution.

21. In the post-war decades this dual pattern of out-migration by the successful young, while the failing young remain behind without real roots, has seriously injured the stability of older urban neighborhoods and it has also impaired the capacity of suburban areas to develop local identity. The other neighborhoods are drained of young leadership; and the successful young, once they have graduated to the suburbs, find themselves in environments without social, historic or sub-cultural roots.

Part One

INDICATIONS OF CHANGE

Resurgence of Sub-Cultures and Local Identities

22. In recent years much of this has begun to change. A worldwide reaction against sameness is beginning to find expression. People in many countries and cities are articulating a local need for identity, for a sense of "place", "belonging" and "focus".

23. Sub-cultures and ethnic groups are beginning to emerge once again, often with considerable political vigour and cultural sophistication. There is a clear pattern of connection between the macro-scale and micro-scale expressions of this drive for personal identity and focus. The number of independent nations has tripled since World War II. The fragmentation of international blocs and hegemonies continues. Countries like Great Britain, once the center of a tightly knit worldwide commonwealth of nations, has not only experienced irresistable national independence movements within its federation, but is today experiencing strong sub-national political and cultural conflicts in Wales, Scotland and Ireland. In Canada the French Canadians talk of secession. Ethnicity is a new and powerful awareness in the United States, a nation forged of immigrants from just about every country and culture in the world. What began in the 1960's as a "black is beautiful" movement among American negroes locked in the civil rights struggle has now broadened into a growing recognition of the pluralist social and sub-cultural character of every large city in the country.

24. In its political structure, the United States has a long history of decentralization and local autonomy. When the country fought its "War of Independence" against Great Britain, the new republic was formed from independent colonies which became "states". Today there are fifty states in the union, each with its own house of representatives and senate. Within each state there are countless cities, boroughs, townships and other jurisdictions. Indeed the essence of American public life is that of a "willing federation" of parts. One might not find it surprising therefore that a resurgence of local sub-cultural identities would occur strongly in the United States.

25. But the United States is not unique in its decentralized political form. Most of the democratic countries of the non-communist world are structured in similar patterns of decentralization. A micro-scale expression of the need of people to have a sense of physical territoriality and roots is the "neighborhood movement", which cities in the United States and many other countries are increasingly experiencing today. The neighborhood movement has become increasingly activist, political, and organized. Neighborhood leaders have found that when hundreds of people are organized to arrive at City Hall with pennants flying and slogans aloft on placards, to promote (or fight) particular issues or projects or "rights", they can have a potent effect on a mayor, a city council, or a public department, to say nothing of their impact on the neighborhood's sense of identity and emerging self-image. The curious thing is that this emerging identity occurs, not only in old long-established neighborhoods in cities, but in urban situations where no neighborhood was previously known to exist. Here are two examples from different countries.

26. In London in 1971 a fringe area lying between several historic neighborhoods including Notting Hill, Golborne and North Kensington was to have been demolished and replaced with new housing. The proposal led to a surge of community identity, at first around the political issues of the re-development itself, and then around the issue of the quality of community life, leading very quickly to the establishment of an entirely new neighborhood consciousness in both social and physical form, called Swinbrook.(1)

27. In Minneapolis, United States, in the late 60's a "new town in town", to be called Cedar Riverside, was proposed. Like the London example, it called for the demolition of a large area of apparently nondescript slums in which lived a transient population of elderly people, students and urban unemployed. A surge of community identity where none previously existed led to a neighborhood organization which by 1976 had forced the developers into court and bankruptcy.(2)

The "Neighborhood" is a Place and also a Rich Cross-Section of Citizens

28. Swinbrook and Cedar Riverside are interesting examples because in both cases the planners and architects thought that there were no

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1) Graham Towers, "Swinbrook: Testbed for Participation", The Architects Journal, London, 12 March 1976, and Bob Redpath, "The Hard Case for Community", New Society, London, 18 November 1974, pages 541-542.

2) Rodney E. Engelen, "Cedar Riverside, A Case Study", The Practicing Planner, published by The American Institute of Planners, Washington, D.C., April 1976, pages 30-40.

neighborhoods there at all, at least not in the previously accepted sense of a neighborhood. Until Swinbrook and Cedar Riverside it was thought that a neighborhood was a physical place, a distinct fragment of the city, a geographic entity the character of which could be defined within boundaries or edges. Of course many neighborhoods actually are like this. But what Swinbrook and Cedar Riverside both reveal is that neighborhoods - whether they are physically distinctive or not - are not primarily places, but people.

29. At Swinbrook, the Greater London Council, surprised at the reaction of the "non-neighborhood" to the redevelopment plans, undertook a census of 1 000 households. It discovered that the essence of Swinbrook is the individual citizen and his networks, or the family unit and its networks. In other words, instead of the static concept of identifiable place, you have the dynamic of the social and cultural and physical ties of people to neighbors, friends, relatives, public events, environments, vistas, shops, the sounds of known voices, a special smell in the air, the private poetry of place names... all of which are home turf. And a further point which the Swinbrook census identified was that "home turf" was of even more vital importance to the new immigrant who is in the process of putting down his roots than to the long-term resident.(1)

30. It should be pointed out that the concept of neighborhood and the concept of ethnicity do not necessarily coincide. In the United States people speak, as they do in Europe, of the "Jewish community", and by that they mean citizens who share common religions, racial and religious ties, no matter where they live. Similarly in the United States, there are large numbers of such ethnic communities and sub-cultures. Many are highly organized, and through their traditions and festivals they contribute a variety and richness to national life. Sometimes a neighborhood may be predominantly or entirely ethnic. In several cities in the United States there are Jewish, Polish, Italian or black neighborhoods, such as Harlem in New York.

31. But most urban neighborhoods, whether they are in U.S. or European cities, are not ethnic enclaves in this sense at all. Although Swinbrook and Cedar Riverside are examples of new neighborhoods, or neighborhoods whose self-image and identity are still in the making, their caracteristics are no different from older urban neighborhoods. Their essence is not the sameness or homogeneity of their population mix, but the opposite.

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1) Redpath, op.cit.

In fact the richer their mix of citizens and the richer their local environmental distinction, the stronger their self-image becomes and the more potent their political strength, their self-expression, and their social stability. Indeed what the Swinbrook survey established was not a unique but a common characteristic of neighborhoods. They are based on dynamic networks, within which every individual feels a sense of personal interaction and belonging, and a sense of social or group purpose and contribution.

32. Indeed there is a growing mass of evidence that a basic reason for the decay of U.S. and European cities, the rising crime and drug addiction rates (rising more rapidly in the suburbs than in the older urban neighborhoods), and the demoralization of ordinary people, particularly the young, is that for decades our institutions have denied the broad mass of citizens any role in expressing their individual sense of place and social purpose.

Local Perspectives versus National Perspectives

33. Most democratic societies do not explicitly suppress their citizens. But it is in the nature of bureaucracies to develop policies and make decisions without reference to or consultation with the people whose lives are directly affected. Case studies of conflicts which have arisen in the past decade between urban neighborhoods and local and national bureaucracies in the United States and Europe have shown that issues viewed in one way at the national level may be viewed entirely differently at the local level.

34. For example, at the national level it is apparent that there are slums in most big cities, and that means mass housing deficits. There are low-income populations and unemployment, and that means massive welfare programs. Crime rates are going up, and that calls for more and better equipped police and large prisons. And there are low academic achievements in low-income areas, and that means remedial curricula and new schools.

35. But from the viewpoint of the people in the neighborhoods the perspective may well be quite different. They do not see the national picture; and national policies are not their primary concern. Their primary concern is the local picture, which they see with great clarity. Citizens in neighborhoods who press the neighborhood viewpoint on bureaucrats are frequently regarded as radicals, simply because our system does not welcome direct citizen inputs into the design of public policies and

programmes, but case studies show that the positions developed by citizens turn out, more often than not, to be rather more conservative than those of the national planners.

36. Take slum clearance and the provision of new housing for low-income families, for example. Areas regarded as "blighted" by officials may well be vital communities to the people who live in them. The people might not want the obsolete housing to be swept away and replaced by new housing which totally reconfigures the social networks and familiar places around which they have built their lives. They might prefer, if they were asked, a rather more sophisticated progra[illegible] in which the capital investment which was intended to be spent on the new housing is turned, say, into a revolving low-interest mortgage and loan fund, with citizen representation on its board, so that the citizens can have the incentives and the tools - money, professional guidance, the availability of skilled craftsmen - to restore the old houses on a unit-by-unit basis, making them available for home ownership, and inserting new units into the old fabric of the street only where necessary and with care for continuity.(1) It is conceivable that such a reinforcement of the familiar might be a lot more satisfactory than the new housing which, although designed in a manner that appears to the architects to be in every way beautiful, in fact violates the hidden and local qualities of those citizens' lives. It is also conceivable that processes of this kind might be linked to education, on-the-job training and skill development, and also to labour intensity responses to unemployment and underemployment in urban areas.(2)

37. Government bureaucracies at national and local levels are commonly organized as departments. In most countries there are separate departments for housing, education, health, transportation, recreation, etc. Each department has its own administration, budget, policies, programs,

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1) In 1968 two apartment buildings in the South End of Boston, were to be demolished and replaced by new housing. Both buildings were structurally sound and had potential for rehabilitation. The tenants resisted the demolition of their homes, raised money and political support, and worked with students from the School of Architecture at M.I.T. in developing plans for the restoration of their buildings. See Hans H. Harms, "User and Community Involvement in Housing and Its Effect on Professionalism", Chapter 8 of Freedom to Build, edited by John F.C. Turner and Robert Fichter, The MacMillan Co., New York, 1972.

2) In several U.S. cities, most notably Baltimore, an "urban homesteading" program has been developed in which any abandoned residential structure in the inner city is not demolished but sold for one dollar, providing the new owner rehabilitates it according to specifications agreed with the city, and construction loans are provided at 3 per cent interest, well below the market rate.

priorities, regulations, specifications and the rest. All of this, as Patrick Geddes pointed out so long ago,(1) militates against "seeing things whole". In terms of bureaucratic efficiency, there is obviously much to be said for government services being organized in this way. But life is not so neatly compartmentalized. Not only are neighborhoods networks; personal lives are too. One thing links with another. Education links through skill development with employment, through creativity with culture, through social studies with interpersonal and social responsibilities and citizenship. Housing is the home base of the family and the way it links to shops, recreation, work journey and so forth has much to do with the potential richness and stability of the social form and identity of the "neighborhood". In situation after situation in our cities, where housing has been treated simply as the provision of unit types and residential density, and where education has been institutionalized as schools, there has been alienation which on occasion has led, as in the notorious Pruitt Igoe housing development in St. Louis, United States(2) to complete breakdown and destruction.

38. But there is also a growing inventory of situations, in almost every country in the world, in which people have taken action into their own hands, sometimes quietly, sometimes in open defiance of the ruling bureaucracies. The best known and largest examples are probably the huge squatter settlements grafted onto South American cities such as Lima, Caracas and Rio de Janiero, and onto Asian cities such as Manila in the Philippines and Hong Kong. In the South American barrios we can see how tens of thousands of poor families have built their own shelters from the simplest

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1) Patrick Geddes, Cities in Evolution, London 1915; new and revised edition, Williams and Norgate, London, 1949.

2) Pruitt Igoe was designed by the well-known U.S. architect, Minoru Yamasaki, in the mid-1950's as a series of apartment blocks surrounding community courtyards. The award-winning project was one of the biggest public housing projects in the country. It failed. Its planners and designers did not perceive that repetitive apartment blocks in the modern "international style" of architecture would seriously undermine the personal identity of the inhabitants. The public courts, teeming with children, undermined the sense of individual scale in public places. And the social homogeneity of the project as a whole (low-income, predominantly black) tended to segregate the community from the city. Failure in the schools to provide the young with meaningful entry points into the mainstreams of employment and career options in the city, and the consequent high teenage unemployment in Pruitt Igoe (over 50 per cent) further emphasized segregation. Social disorder, rampant vandalism and crime resulted in a decision to demolish the entire project less than twenty years after its completion. Although Pruitt Igoe is an extreme example, other countries are experiencing similar results, viz. the "superblocks" in Caracas, Venezuela.

and often the most crude materials. Viewed from the point of view of "minimal housing standards", these enormous squatter settlements are teeming, squalid slums. Viewed from the opposite point of view, one cannot but be impressed by the magnitude of serious effort by huge numbers of poor and often illiterate people, working together to create, in the absence of real aid, cities of their own, with streets, schools, electric power, an appropriate form of governance, employing networks of shared and interrelated skills in construction, teaching, administration and so forth. Indeed, in spite of the enormous difficulties to be overcome, or perhaps because of them, these settlements are nothing short of heroic.(1)

Local Resources versus Universal Sameness

39. Nothing on the scale of the barrios has occurred, or is likely to occur, in the industrially developed countries with their highly organized national bureaucracies and programs. But the size is not important. The need for co-operation and co-ordination in response to local needs and issues is felt and expressed as strongly in many of the neighborhoods of European and U.S. cities as it is in the barrios.

40. Although the causes for what is sometimes called "the neighborhood movement" and sometimes called "the community revolt" are complex and will vary sharply from one situation to the next, one factor is common: the need of citizens to express a sense of place, and a sense of social purpose at a local scale. Albert Camus once made a distinction between the concepts of revolution and revolt. Revolution, he said, usually ends in re-creating the form rebelled against, whilst revolt modifies it.(2) The neighborhood movement is not anti-technological. It merely opposes the trend toward international middle class cultural sameness, and the trend toward centralism in government which is too remote to be sensitive to local issues. And it does this by emphasizing local characteristics and cultures, and by insisting on modifications in local political structure so that a sufficient measure of self-determinism by local citizens can occur in matters affecting the lives of their families and neighbors.

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1) Freedom to Build, op.cit. See also "Dwelling Resources in South America", special issue of Architectural Design, London, Vol. XXXIII, August 1963; and Charles Abrams: Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World, M.I.T. Press, 1964.

2) Albert Camus, Lyrical and Critical Essays, edited by Philip Thody, New York, 1968.

41. Every community, rich or poor, urban or suburban, has astonishingly rich resources within it if we are prepared to recognize them, help citizens to organize them and put them to use. And every community has special local characteristics and inventories of unique physical inheritance on which to graft new proposals and to build. From an outside vantage point the barrios appear to be poor, and the people uneducated, with little hope of integration into the mainstream of careers and "upward mobility" in the city. But from the point of view of the barrio people themselves, education and skill development for children and adults alike is supremely important. They have therefore built schools through self-help and volunteer labour and materials, and volunteer teachers from the barrios run them with the aid of outside volunteers such as Peace Corps workers, using whatever local resources they can muster for curricula and workshop training.(1) At a more sophisticated level the parents of the school children attending the Human Resources Center in Pontiac,(2) discovered that they too had unique resources which conventional education left untapped. Once one sees beyond the fact that the barrios are crude and the Pontiac Human Resources Center is sophisticated, the parallels between the former and the latter are striking.

42. In Pontiac, as in the barrios, the citizens began the process of articulating local needs and resources in a spirit of revolt, and began working to implement identified objectives. The process began after the assassination of the famous black leader, Martin Luther King, in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1967. This incident sparked revolt in the black communities of several big U.S. industrial cities, including Pontiac. The general thrust was civil rights and neighborhood self-determination. In Pontiac the issue of a new school was seized. Quickly the community perceived that "education" meant a lot more than the construction of a school for children. If education was to have an impact on increasing the quality of life in the community, it had to relate directly and meaningfully to particular issues in that community and not only to "national standards". And in identifying the particular issues, the citizens pointed out that the most important product of education is skill development, primarily related to employment and career opportunities as they exist in that particular

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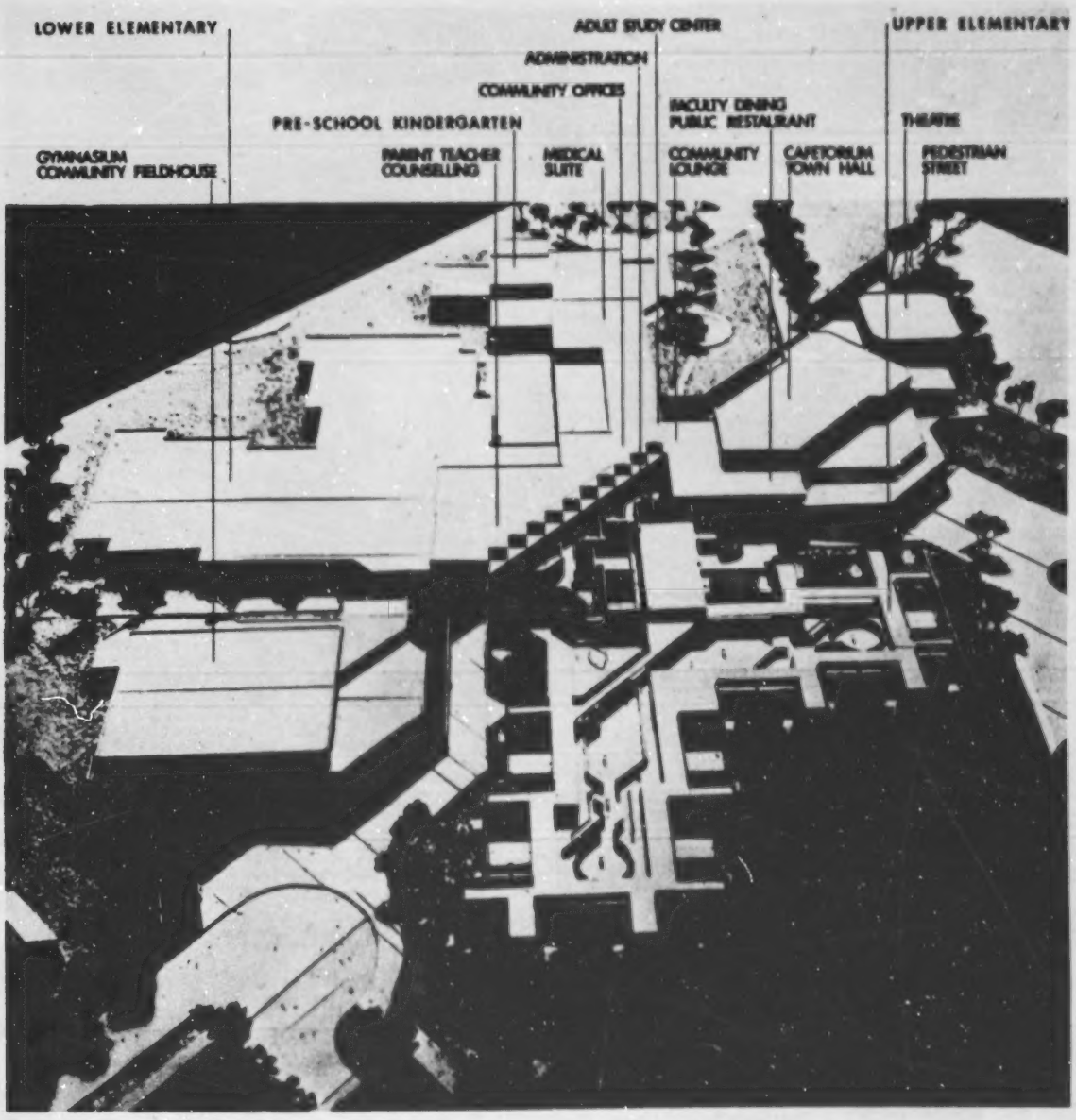
1) Freedom to Build, op.cit.; Charles Abrams, op.cit.

2) Margrit Kennedy, "From Individual Projects towards City-Wide Networks", Building for School and Community: III. United States, page 25 of the present volume; also Larry Molloy, Community/School: Sharing the Space and the Action, Educational Facilities Laboratories Inc., New York, 1973.

HUMAN RESOURCES CENTER, PONTIAC, MICHIGAN

Model with part of roof off ; note pedestrian street linking neighborhoods to city centre



city; that skill development applies to adults as well as to growing children. Education, they said, is cultural; and for them that meant cultural facilities which properly related to the community's sub-cultures. In defining this point, the citizens themselves were surprised to find how many families there were in the neighborhood from different national origins, with parental languages, cultures and talents which could be used in the Human Resources Center. And so, in addition to requesting facilities for theater and music to be included in the Center, the citizens themselves started an "ethnic center" - a sort of voluntary museum for adults and children to which anyone can bring on loan or as a gift any object which symbolizes who he or she is as a person: and the ethnic center today has become a rich, personal and always changing museum and resources center for the school, reflecting the character of the community and its cultures - as perceived by itself. In the same way, education was perceived as dynamically interrelated with housing, health facilities, parks, indoor recreation, libraries, food services, and a host of other programs. The result was a public process to plan co-ordination, and to build a facility which - because it responded precisely to the needs of that particular community as perceived by itself - was different from any Center that has previously been designed or built anywhere in the world.

43. A feature which the community schools in the barrios have in common with sophisticated community centers like the Human Resources Center in Pontiac is that the school is de-institutionalized. In the barrios, the school building occurs on a street just as other buildings do, and it is indistinguishable from them in its form. The school building is also multi-used. It is a school for children during the day, but in the evening it is used for adult education, meetings and social occasions. The Pontiac building is similar in many essential respects. When the Human Resources Center in Pontiac was being planned, the citizens who were involved in the process called for a building which would perform "like a shopping street". A design emerged with a community pedestrian street running through it, off which open, like a stem and leaves, the education components, the health center, the adult workshops, the restaurant, the theater, the community indoor recreation center and so forth. In other words, the school as an institution is no longer separate in form or in function, but becomes part of the daily processes of the city. It is as easily accessible to adults and children alike, formally and informally, as walking off the street into a shop.(1)

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1) Margrit Kennedy, op.cit.; also Margrit Kennedy, Die Schule als Gemeinschaftszentrum Beispiele und Partizipationsmodelle aus den USA, Schulbauinstitut der Länder, Berlin, 1976; and Janet Bloom, "Street Scene School", Architectural Forum, New York, June 1973.

44. Such a design was somewhat exceptional a few years ago. The Human Resources Center was regarded as unique. Today it is not exceptional. Indeed, in those processes in which citizens are given the opportunity to participate in planning and design, the first requests to be made are usually for co-ordination and accessibility. Over two hundred people participated in the planning and design process of the Gananda Neighborhood Center, the first building in a proposed new town near Rochester, and the result was once again an internal street with the various components of the community center opening from it; the school, the arts center, the public library, the community indoor recreation component, and so forth. Similarly in the Queensgate II Town Center in Cincinnati, where over a thousand citizens have participated in various aspects of programming and design, the education components have once again merged indistinguishably into a comprehensive multi-level development. Offices, higher educational facilities, educational television studios and housing all are entered from a public square surrounded by shops and a city market, on an upper level above parking decks for 575 cars.(1) In Roosevelt Island, a new town on an island in the East River in central New York City, school facilities occur along the shopping street in the ground floors of tall buildings. New universities and colleges are beginning to follow similar forms. The new university in Indianapolis, for example, after a planning process in which students and citizens were intensively involved with university officials and architects, will be built with a central enclosed street which will have shops, banks, offices and theaters serving the students and the general public, and the university itself will be built over and around the street, like a city.(2) In Montreal, Canada, a plan has been developed to use the underground Metro as a street or movement system to interrelate resources in the city. Students will travel by Metro to use resources such as public libraries, galleries, government buildings, etc., according to agreed programs and structured seminars, study

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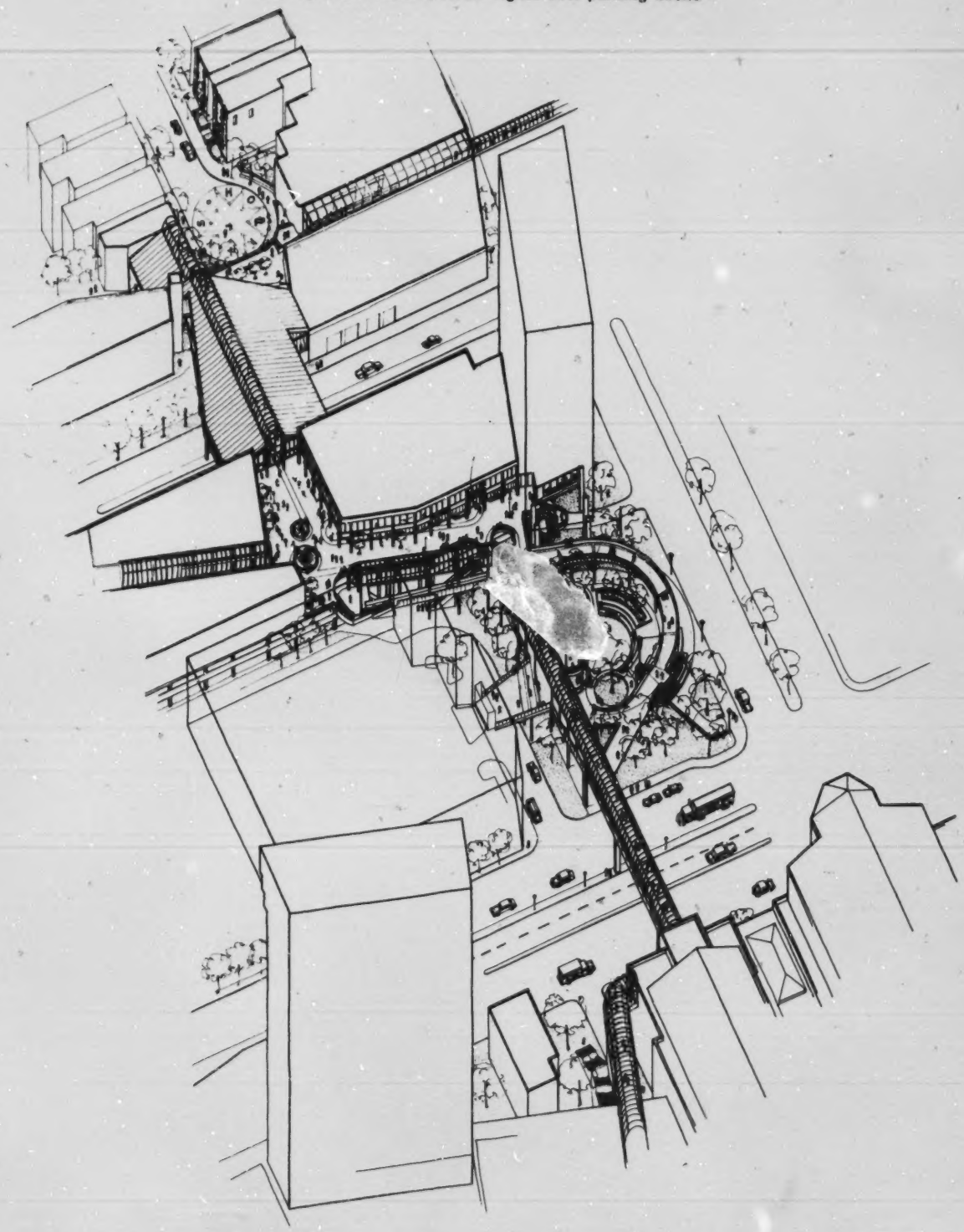
1) Urban Design Associates, Queensgate II Town Center, Cincinnati, Ohio, a report to the Department of Urban Development, Cincinnati, 1975.

2) Urban Design Associates and Woollen Associates, Indiana University/ Purdue University in Indianapolis, a report to the Board of Regents, Indiana, 1975.

QUEENSGATE II TOWN CENTER, CINCINNATI, OHIO
Axonometric of public circulation with shops, plaza, market and open-air theater, on air-rights over parking decks



assignments, etc.(1) Thus education is integrated into urban life. Even older school buildings, which dropping birth rates in industrialized countries are leaving redundant and empty, are being taken over by citizen groups as community and arts centers. In Ann Arbor, Michigan, citizens from communities and neighborhoods participated in the development of a metropolitan "networks" map interrelating cultural facilities to schools, and identifying how redundant school space could be used as centers for arts, social activities, ecology centers, and so forth, in relation at once to neighborhood needs and to the physical interrelationship of each center with other centers and resources on the "networks" map.(2)

45. When we examine the programs which are offered in these deinstitutionalized facilities, we find some common trends. The Human Resources Center in Pontiac is open eighteen hours a day. It offers education from kindergarten to college degrees, from mid-career workshops to seminars and workshops for new careers, from theater and music to hobby shops for the elderly, from cookery to basketball, open to everyone of any age or sex, and entered from the street. In the Queensgate II Town Center, the citizens have asked for indoor spaces which can be occupied "spontaneously" by any group, for music, lectures, or meetings, on an "as available" basis. Like Pontiac, one of the programmes requested by the citizens is a community museum, to document and celebrate the social, political and popular cultural history of the neighborhoods which surround the Town Center; and in a similar way to the educational facilities, the museum is to be entered directly from the public square. In all of these projects what emerges are urban design and architectural forms responding to the themes of coordination and inter-sectoral policies which the citizens themselves have defined in joint planning and design sessions with the architects and the

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1) Metro/education is based on the rapid transit system, the Metro, of Montreal. At every concourse there is a different inventory of resources within walking distance. Every concourse can become a subcenter, a node, within an overall system of learning resources. As Harry Parnass, one of its planners, perceives the system, Metro/education capitalizes on the fact that the metro is "a sophisticated network of climate-controlled pedestrian concourses...which integrates office, shopping, cultural, and residential facilities" into a single system linked by rapid rail services. The system is therefore ideal as a discovery learning network, the home bases for which need not be in schools at all but could be located in office blocks, libraries, institutions, in spaces over shops, or in any other suitable available space along the system. Michel Lincourt and Harry Parnass, Metro/Education, University of Montreal, 1970.

2) Urban Design Associates, Education Plan for Ann Arbor, Michigan, Vol. III, 1973.

representatives of the public departments involved. Although most of the programmes and uses remain inherently specialist (health, education, fine art, music, etc.), it is not their specialization (separateness) which is emphasized, but their interrelationship. Not surprisingly, since citizens are deeply involved in the program and design process, what tends to emerge is not a new institution but a piece of city building, with all the complexity and vitality and capacity for growth and change which the phrase implies.

46. Another feature which these projects have in common with one another is that once citizens have been so deeply involved in planning and implementation, they naturally seek a voice in the continuing administration and day-to-day operations of the project they have worked so hard and creatively to realize. In Pontiac the citizens have equal participation with the public sector in the administration of the Center. They are also involved in many of the health, educational and public service programs, as volunteers or para-professionals. Their involvement not only enables the community's human resources to be tapped, but it also provides an important self-monitoring system. In Queensgate the community has proposed the formation of a non-profit development corporation, with a revolving fund made available by the City, so that citizens can build and operate facilities such as the community museum that are of particular interest and concern to them. Following similar lines, the citizens who participated in planning and designing the Gananda Neighborhood Center(1) recommended the formation of a Neighborhood Association of citizens which would be fully responsible for the Center financially and administratively, and would sub-lease the Center's facilities to the various public departments, such as education, health, library services, etc., or to community groups, on a time-space basis. In this way the community would be directly responsible for ensuring that its services and programs respond directly and sensitively to local needs. And as far as the children are concerned, their growing and learning situations are in a very direct way part of the world and concerns of the adults of their community and of their parents. They grow up in a climate of citizenship. Through the inclusion of local resources in school curricula, local resources become the microcosm from which the universal may be extrapolated. The world becomes real in local and known terms.

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1) David Lewis, "A Community Determines What its Center is", The Inner City, edited by Declan and Margrit Kennedy, Elek Books Ltd., London, 1974, pages 215-228.

47. The remainder of this paper will concentrate on various mechanisms for community involvement which have emerged from these and other case studies. But before we go on to these, it might be useful to summarize briefly some of the main themes we have touched on so far.

a) The self-identity of communities and neighborhoods, at least in the United States, has tended to occur in a spirit of revolt against the trends in our society towards universal sameness. In some cases, self-identity has been achieved through the focus of an actual project. The Human Resources Center in Pontiac and the Queensgate II Town Center in Cincinnati are examples of this. In other cases, as in Swinbrook and Cedar Riverside, self-identity has occurred through the focus of an issue.

b) In the perception of the citizens of such communities, education has been one of the factors tending to undermine the richness and the stability of neighborhoods, particularly older urban neighborhoods. Successful students enter the mainstreams of professional or technocratic careers. After graduation from universities and colleges they migrate to the suburbs of their own or other cities. In doing so, they leave the older neighborhoods (urban and rural) to their ageing parents and to education's rejects. The suburbs acquire homogeneity. The older neighborhoods, losing variety and leadership, are lock-stepped into decline. Neither situation is regarded as good.

c) The perceptions of national planners and policy makers, which in turn are translated into programs by various public departments, sometimes differ markedly from the perceptions of citizens in particular communities and neighborhoods. For example, a national policy to train more scientists and engineers may be translated into financial subsidies being made available to schools, colleges and universities for particular types of equipment and curricula in accord with specifications drawn up at the national level. The result is that potentially rich local resources tend to be overlooked because the national programmers are insensitive to them, or have no mechanisms for including them. And among the continuing chain of results are a weakening of local self-regard and a failure to root education directly and firmly into the daily creative life and resources of the community. Although this is, of course, a simplified example one has only to extend this theme across other aspects of education to see how local cultural traditions, religious traditions, and other community ties become undermined.

d) But the case studies already cited here, and many others from various countries, show that mechanisms can be developed through which public officials and citizens can work together to identify needs and resources, and plan and build together in such a way that education can be rooted firmly into the creative daily life of the community, engendering a strong sense of citizenship and self-regard, without loss of universal standards. And the case studies show that through pride in their joint achievement, both have made their co-ordinated centers symbols of self and of community.

Part Two

CO-ORDINATION OF FACILITIES : SOME MECHANISMS

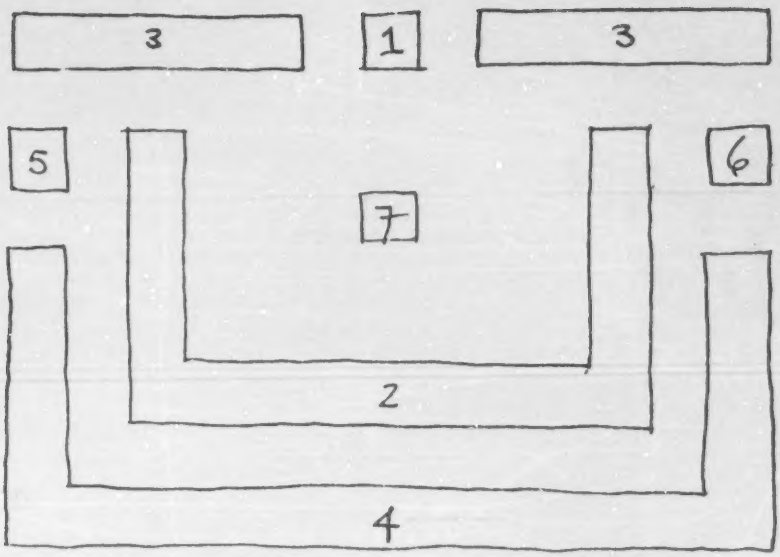
Getting Citizens into the Planning Process

48. The basic challenge is to get the public officials, the planners and architects, and the citizens into the same fully enfranchised process together. This is not always easy. In many industrially developed countries, citizens have got used to not being consulted. They have learned to "defer to the specialists", and to assume that public officials are responsible for the delivery of services such as education, recreation, and so forth. At the same time, the public officials of various departments are not used to the idea of working together and interrelating their programs, let alone working with citizens. Public policies, budgets, regulatory procedures, and administrations are designed to be autonomous, and make little provision for joint planning. As a result public officials, and their planners and architects, are put in the position of being surrogates for the users of their programmes and buildings; and sometimes the results are insensitive and inappropriate, and opportunities for something better are missed, in spite of good intentions. How often one hears a teacher or a parent remark: "If only I'd been asked!" And how few the architects are who have systematically talked to their users or involved them in the design process. For example, schools are really for children. Yet how many architects have involved children in the design of schools?

49. There is no one way of getting users and citizens into the planning process. Issues and contexts vary from country to country, and from community to community. For every situation there is undoubtedly an appropriate planning process. Nevertheless, from the various case studies, some general principles and mechanisms are beginning to emerge.

Forming a Joint Planning Council

50. One of the earlier planning processes in the United States in which public officials, planners and architects, and citizens worked together was at Pontiac. The product of the planning process was the Human Resources Center. Here is the seating plan of the public planning meetings.



1 the Mayor 2 the Council 3 the Executive Committee
4 the Public 5 T.V. 6 Press 7 Rostrum for Speakers

The notes which follow are a description of the Pontiac planning process, since it is a good example of this mechanism in action, its advantages and its drawbacks.

51. The meetings were chaired by the Mayor (1 in the diagram). The Council was composed of 36 citizens, appointed by the Mayor to represent various aspects of community life (industry, commerce, the churches, the arts, health, ecology, etc.). Every meeting was open to the public, and the press and television were invited. The Executive Committee was composed of public officials representing various departments or bureaux (housing, education, health, parks, public finance, public works and engineering, etc.). The small square in the middle of the diagram is the rostrum from which a professional (educator, health consultant, architect, etc.) made his presentation.

52. The purpose of the Council was to debate the issues and to make recommendations to the Mayor and to the Executive Committee. The public was invited by the Council to present its views and to debate the issues; but only the Council could make recommendations. In parliamentary terms, the Council was an equivalent of a legislature.

53. The purpose of the Executive Committee was to say whether the recommendations were practical, and whether they could be implemented. Thus in parliamentary terms, this committee was the executive arm of the process.

54. The impact on co-ordination was immediate. The process(1) began with an elementary (primary) school. The issue was where the school should be sited and what part of the city it should serve. Quickly the question became:

- what is the role of education in our community, and in what way can education enhance our quality of life?

In debating this question a number of related issues arose. For example:

- a role of education is to relate skill development to employment opportunities in our city;
- a role of education is to provide services for adults as well as for children, so that adults can learn skills which will open up new employment and income options for them;
- a role of education is to provide children with a living sense of cultural traditions;
- local cultural traditions exist in the community, and these should be used as a resource in schools so that children can grow up in a climate of cultural reality and relevance;
- if education is important in opening up new employment and income options, there should also be new housing inventories in the city so that the community can promote the idea of income mix in the neighborhoods;
- why should public money be spent on school playing fields, when the city has a park system;
- since the parks are open to the public, should not the school's indoor recreation facilities also be open to children and adults alike in the community;
- the public libraries are a resource for books, exhibitions, recordings and so forth, so why should the schools duplicate it;
- perhaps the school should contain a public library;
- the elderly community suffer from loneliness, therefore would it not be a good idea to locate elderly housing near the school so that the old people can walk in easily and enjoy the library, the arts programs, and the recreation facilities;
- since the school will have food services, why not a program to provide at least one hot meal a day for elderly people in the neighborhood;

1) The American Association of School Administrators, New Forms for Community Education, Washington, D.C., 1973; Larry Molloy, op.cit.

- the elderly are often retired people who represent a wasted resource of intellect and skill which could be used in education;
- the community also contains a number of families from different nationalities and cultures who also represent a useable resource.

55. It became clear very soon that the traditional divisions between public service departments, with their own budget lines, priorities, and regulations would make it very difficult to respond to these issues, since they were all issues of interrelationship in a very local context. There was only one way of dealing with them, and that was comprehensively, i.e. as a network, rather than in traditional and separate categories.

56. The process therefore proceeded as a definition of networks, interrelationships and priorities. Gradually a comprehensive program emerged. More and more people joined the process. Progress was slow. Many obstacles had to be overcome, ranging from conflicts of priority within the community to legal questions with regard to procedures governing the various public programs and budgets involved. Three-dimensional design, in the form of diagrams, drawings and models, were used as a means of defining how recommended programs might look in terms of space and physical interrelationship. As parts of the program took shape (elementary education, adult education, food services, recreation, etc.) task forces, composed of citizens, officials, and staffs, were formed to study these programs intensively and to report back to the Council. After eighteen months of work, a building design was approved. The primary school had grown into the Human Resources Center. Its education component alone provides for 1 800 children and 5 500 adults.

The "Critical Path" Alternative

57. Theoretically, the Joint Planning Council is a debating chamber. Issues and interrelationships are discussed and defined. Its main advantage is that co-ordination is debated and enacted publicly. All participants know why certain programs are possible and why others are not, and what the ramifications are of alternative courses of action. But it is a time-consuming method. One of its main drawbacks is its lack of dynamic structure. New faces turn up at almost every meeting, and other people, important to the process, might drop out for one reason or another.

58. An alternative is the "Critical Path". A critical path is, of course, the diagram of a planning process as it moves forward from one stage to the next.

59. Turned into a method, it is as follows:

a) Once the initial project or issue is identified a Steering Committee is formed. This should be relatively small: 7-12 people is a good number. They should be:

- people who are completely "credible" to citizens and officials alike, and representative of the range of points of view likely to be encountered as the process moves forward;
- people who are prepared to serve on the Steering Committee from the start of the project to the end.

The question of how the Steering Committee itself comes into being cannot be answered in the abstract. Each local situation will undoubtedly have a pattern of leadership within it which will become the vehicle for a Steering Committee. Although ideally speaking, the Steering Committee should contain a mix of citizens and officials, it is conceivable that in some situations the Committee could be composed entirely of citizens, in other cases entirely of officials. Important though the composition of the Steering Committee is, the critical path method is nevertheless all-inclusive; i.e. anyone who wants to participate, can. This section will show how.

b) The first task of the Steering Committee is to design the critical path. In designing the path the Steering Committee will certainly want to consult with officials, architects and others to ensure that the path is likely to be realistic. The path will set out a firm but realistic time-frame. The Committee may say: "because of thus-and-so political and economic pressures, we must be through design and into construction within twelve months". The path will then be set out as a sequence of steps to be taken in reaching the goal of an identified product within an identified period of time. The path is important. It enables all participants to see what their role is as the process unfolds. They can see how their tasks interrelate with those of others, how close they are to their goals, and what the remaining interim steps are before the product is realized.

c) A critical path diagram is illustrated here. Although each local situation will produce its appropriate path, this diagram is offered as a prototypical illustration of what the main steps are likely to be. The diagram is a simplified version of the

critical path which was designed for the master planning process for the new Indiana University/Purdue University campus in Indianapolis, a process involving city officials and citizens with the students, faculty and administration of the university.(1)

d) At this point or earlier in the process, a decision has to be made as to who is going to do the technical work of programming and design, i.e. who staffs the process. In the United States the best solution is usually a consulting firm of planners/architects, selected by the Steering Committee following a proposal-and-interview procedure. In other countries, the best solution may be an official planning staff.

e) The first task of the technical staff is data collection. This falls into two main categories, "hard data" and "perceptions".

- "Hard" data is the typical planning base of demography, budgets, land use, zoning, codes, available programs, the regulations and priorities governing those programs, and so forth;
- "Perceptions" are the viewpoints of a representative sample of citizens, officials, users, etc., with regard to the problem and the issues. These are very important. As mentioned earlier in this paper, the way issues are seen by local citizens and users is frequently very different indeed from the way the same issues are seen by planners, architects, or officials. And every process in which

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1) Urban Design Associates and Woollen Associates, Indiana University/Purdue University in Indianapolis, op.cit., also David Lewis and Raymond L. Gindroz, "Toward a Design Process that Re-Enfranchises Citizens and Consumers", The American Institute of Architect Journal, November 1974.

citizens and users have been involved testifies to the insights, creativity and richness of their inputs. In Indianapolis the method of "structured" interviews was used. 150 people were seen individually or in small groups. About 50 of these were selected by the Steering Committee as "important people to see". The rest were a random sample. Each interview was structured around the same series of questions, which were asked more in the spirit of "items of discussion" than as direct questions. Each interview averaged about an hour in duration, and was tape recorded.

f) Following the collection of "hard" data and perceptions by the staff, the staff's next task is to set out the material in undistorted and graphic form, and to develop a series of analyses and expert opinions on the material, in joint meetings with the Steering Committee.

g) These materials and opinions are then presented at the first Public Forum. The public forum itself can be organized simply by making a public announcement of the meeting and opening the doors to all-comers. In Indianapolis an alternative to this was used. Each of the 150 people interviewed in the "perceptions" stage was asked to come and to bring three new people. Not everyone managed to bring three, but 350 to 400 people came to the public forums. The first public forum has two main items on its agenda:

- review the analysis and synthesis of data prepared by the staff and the Steering Committee. This material is best presented in large-scale graphic form: inventories of basic ideas in large letters on huge sheets of paper: maps, slides, etc., so that the public feels that they are truly included in the project;

- discuss the issues and priorities of the project and appoint Task Forces.

The Public Forum provides an opportunity for every participant to see his own contributions in relation to everyone else's, and to see their impact on the program. It enables the Steering Committee and the technical staff to understand the viewpoint of their constituents. And it allows participants to either volunteer themselves or name others to work on the Task Forces.

h) Once the Public Forum has met and expressed its ideas with regard to the issues and priorities, and suggested names for the Task Forces, the Steering Committee and the technical staff should meet to draw up a summary of the Public Forum, broken out as groups or "clusters" of tasks. Each situation will, of course, produce its own appropriate inventory, but examples of such clusters might be:

- educational programs, children and adults;
- recreation programs, indoors and out;
- arts programs;
- programs for senior citizens;
- interdepartmental relations;
- capital and operational budgets;
- administration.

Each cluster of tasks would then become the directive from the Steering Committee to its appropriate Task Force. The Steering Committee would also be responsible for appointing the Task Forces, ensuring that each Task Force has the appropriate mix of citizen and user members with official or departmental representation.

i) The Task Forces will then hold working meetings. These meetings are in two stages:

- first each Task Force will concentrate on its own "cluster" of tasks, and within a given time-frame it will produce a written program for that cluster;
- then all the Task Forces will meet in plenary sessions with the Steering Committee and the technical staff, and a preliminary comprehensive program (with inter-departmental or inter-sectoral co-ordination) will be drawn up which will, in turn, become the basic program for the planners and architects.

j) The planners and architects will then develop a series of alternative design themes, working with the Task Forces and with the Steering Committee in informal working meetings.

k) These alternative design themes and working reports from each Task Force will now be presented at the Second Public Forum. As far as possible, the participants at the first Public Forum should be encouraged to attend the second. The purposes of the Second Public Forum are:

- to hear from the Steering Committee a summary of the planning process to date, taking up the story from the end of the first Public Forum;
- to hear brief reports from each Task Force regarding its "cluster" of tasks;
- to hear from the technical staff a report on co-ordination, and how co-ordination was interpreted in alternative design themes.

The Public Forum should then discuss the design themes, and express opinions with regard to the "preferred alternative" design theme.

l) The planners and architects then develop detailed designs for the Preferred Alternative. As they move forward, the Steering Committee should ensure that periodic meetings are held, and that the Task Forces and appropriate public departments are properly involved so that there are no surprises and no redesigns. Close attention at this stage must be paid to capital and operational cost projections, and cost/benefit analyses of co-ordination compared with traditional methods of development should be made.

m) Once the preferred alternative design has been worked out to the satisfaction of the Steering Committee, the Task Forces should be called upon to assist in negotiating final inter-sectoral commitments so that the co-ordinated program and design can proceed. The importance of involving the Task Forces in this stage of the work is that each Task Force contains citizens and uses among its members (thus tying the negotiations back into the participation process), and it also contains public officials (thus ensuring that final commitment will be a matter of detail rather than basic policy).

n) The design then goes into final detailed design, construction documents, and implementation.

60. The foregoing is a simplified version of a critical path method. In actual practice, the critical path is likely to be more complex than this, although the same general steps are followed. The Queensgate II Town Center was designed using the critical path method. To date over 1 000 citizens and officials have participated in the work of its Task Forces and sub-committees. Although the process has been complex it has not proved to be unwieldy.

Planning Games

61. "Games are an intriguing and successful method of accelerating the planning process. They are designed to get citizens and officials together to address the issues of co-ordination and "clusters" of programs in a concentrated period of time and in an orderly manner.

62. Although the number of people who can play the planning "Games" is theoretically unlimited, practice shows that 60-100 people per session is a manageable number. If the number of people attending a Public Forum is larger than 100 it may be necessary to have two or three sessions of planning "Games". These sessions can be held simultaneously in different rooms, or sequentially. Four technical staff are needed, per session, to administer the Games" and ensure smooth running.

63. On the Critical Path, the best place for "Games" to be played is at the first Public Forum. Like the Critical Path, the "Games" should be designed by the technical staff and the Steering Committee to address the specific issues of the program as they see it.

64. The "Games" should be played anonymously. In other words, the basic idea is to give every participant in the Public Forum an opportunity to express his perceptions on all the subjects of the "Games", rather than simply on those for which he feels he is qualified. In other words, it defeats the purpose of the "Games", and the insights and wide-ranging discussions which result from them, if the "specialists" take over from the non-specialists. In the "Games", everyone, officials and non-officials alike, should simply be citizens.

65. The timetable for the "Games" will of course vary according to their design. The following is a prototype series of planning games. They are based on the "Games" used for the design of the Neighborhood Center at Gananda, New York.(1) The length of time recommended for each game follows the description.

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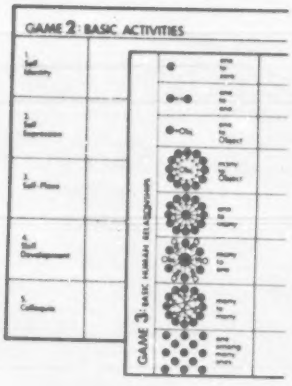
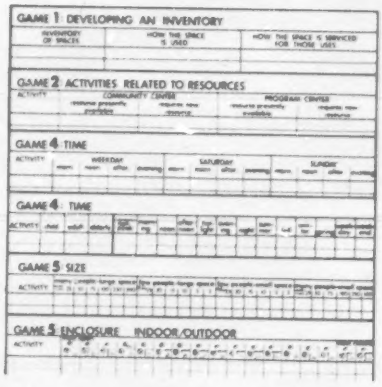
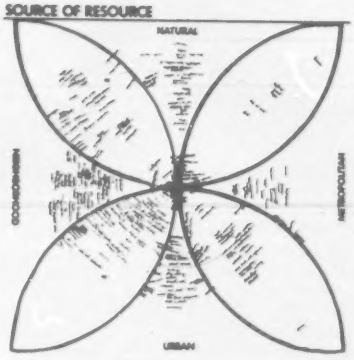
1) David Lewis and Raymond L. Gindroz, op.cit.




GAME 1: DEVELOPING AN INVENTORY
GAME 2: ACTIVITIES RELATED TO RESOURCES
GAME 4: TIME
GAME 4: TIME
GAME 5: SIZE
GAME 5: ENCLOSURE INDOOR/OUTDOOR



GAME 1. Developing an Inventory

The first game is in plenary session. It is devoted entirely to developing inventories of uses for co-ordination. (The remainder of the games will be in groups of 8 or 10 and are devoted to placing values on these inventories, ending with clusters and priorities.) For this game huge sheets of white paper should be pinned up on the walls of the game room. The sheets should be divided into three columns, and the headings of columns should be:

Inventory of Spaces
How the Space is Used
How the Space is Serviced for Those Uses

The participants in the game are asked to fill up the columns by calling out their ideas and perceptions to the technical staff, who in turn write in the appropriate columns on the big sheets of paper. For example:

Inventory of Spaces

Library; school; theater; a workshop for hobbies; a botanical centre; etc.

How the Space is Used

Reading, writing, sitting, listening, dozing, whispering, watching, working quietly, working with one's hands, acting, being with others, browsing, etc.

How the Space is Serviced for Those Uses

Administration, storage, janitorial and custodian assistance, air-conditioning, water, toilets, comfortable seating, carpeting, acoustic insulation, etc.

What becomes immediately revealing in this game is that the more uses there are in the first column, Inventory of Spaces, the more the other two columns will reveal how these uses overlap with one another and are candidates for systematic and careful co-ordination.

Time for the game: 45 minutes to 1 hour.

GAME 2. Basic Activities

Players are now divided into groups of 8 or 10, around a table. Each player has a game board (see illustration). Players are asked to apply the words from Column 2, How the Space is Used, to the appropriate space on their game board. For example: "reading" may go into Skill Development; "writing" may go into both Self-Expression and Skill Development; "sitting" may go into Self-Place (physical identity with where one is) and also into Colloquia (meeting people, formal and informal occasions); etc. This game demonstrates that simple spaces and simple activities can be rich with meanings and options: and it helps to condition players, many of whom may come from specialized or brueaucratized backgrounds, to think more freely and creatively in the games which follow.

Time for the game: 20 minutes.

GAME 3. Basic Human Relationships

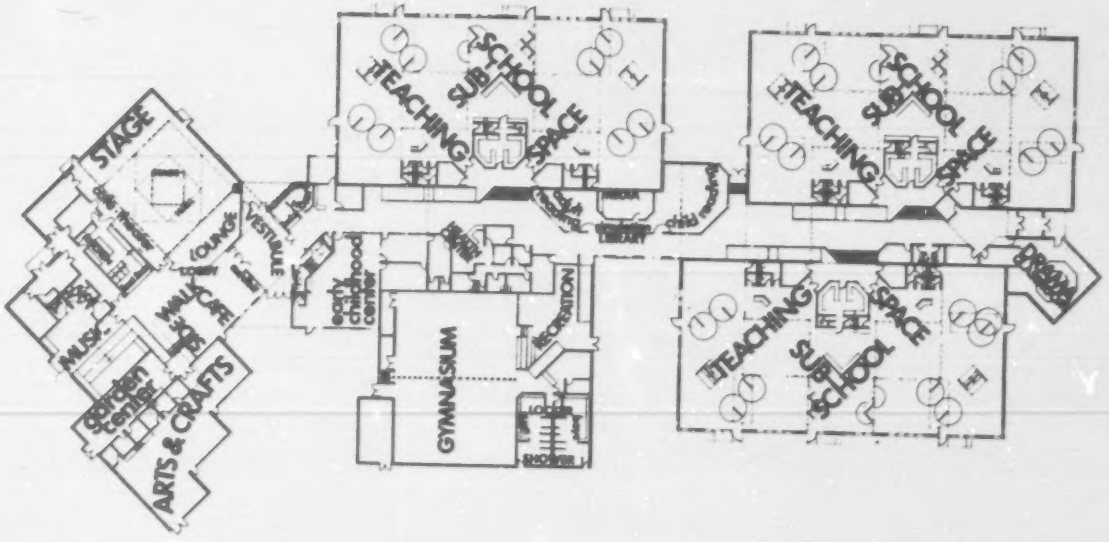
This game is the first of a series which explores how a user relates to his activity in the contexts of time, space, or, as in this game, basic human relationships. The same words and phrases (reading, writing, sitting, etc.) as those used in Game 2 are used again, only this time they are spelled out twice, in capital letters and in lower case letters. The same groups of players are asked to place the words according to first and second importance.

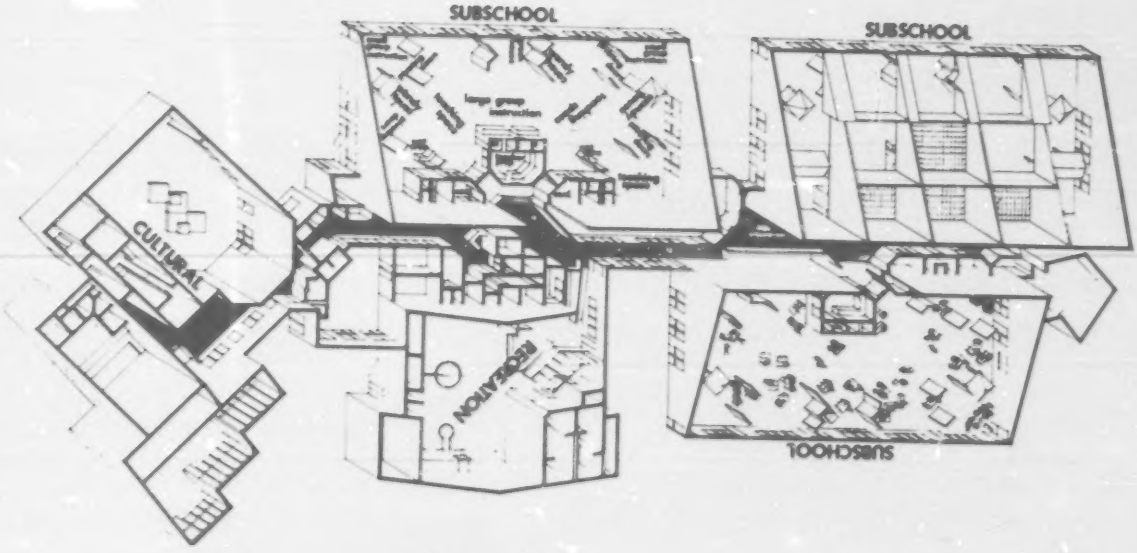
Time for the game: ½-an-hour.

GAME 4. Time

The players are now asked to form eight equal groups, one for each of the categories of basic human relationships in Game 3. Each group then deals in Game 4 only with the activities which in Game 3 were identified by all the players (all 60-100) in its particular category (viz. the group "many to object" deal with everything in that category, and so on). Each group responds to the gaming sheet by writing in the activity in the Activity column and drawing a

FIRST NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER, GANANDA NEW TOWN,
NEW YORK, PLAN AND AXONOMETRIC
This building was a direct product of the «Games» described here





180

horizontal line through the appropriate boxes. (Where activities are continuous in time, viz. education, a continuous horizontal line will be formed.)

Time for the game: ½-an-hour.

GAME 5. Size: Enclosure

Same rules as Game 4.

Time for the game: ½-an-hour.

GAME 6. Source of Resource

This game is played only in those situations where a building is to be the result of the process. The game board is either a map of the site, or, as in the illustration, an abstract version of the site marked off into its salient quadrants. The players are asked to cluster the activities moving outwards from total enclosure to total openness and interrelationship with the surrounding environment; and they are asked to ring in pencil line those activities which they think should be inside the building itself.

Time for the game: ¾-of-an-hour

66. Following these games the players meet again in plenary session. Fresh large white sheets of paper are pinned up. Players are asked to respond verbally to a series of questions. Question 1: In your view what excites you most about the possibilities opened up in today's Forum? Time for the response: 20 minutes. Question 2: In your view what seems to you to be the drawbacks and dangers in the responses to Question 1? Time for the response: 20 minutes. Question 3: What priorities do you wish the Steering Committee and technical staff to pay particular attention to? Time for the response: 20 minutes.

67. The final task of the plenary session is to volunteer or recommend participants for Task Forces to continue the process. At the Gananda games the Task Forces included building design, open air activities, education, and citizen/user operational roles after the building is complete.

68. Similar games have been conducted in other projects in the United States including housing, urban landscaping, recreation, and university master planning.

Making Maps

69. Every community and neighborhood has its own special characteristics. If we only know how to identify these resources, human as well as physical, and how to co-ordinate them, our educational and community centers would be incalculably enriched. Making maps is a useful way of getting officials, planners, and citizens to address the same issues and understand the same constraints with regard to co-ordination, if they all make maps together.

70. The idea of mapping is not new. Urban geographers have developed the technique to considerable sophistication, particularly since the advent of computerization. What is new is getting citizens involved in mapping, and allowing the perceptions of "the man in the street" and even children to influence the goals, criteria and mechanisms of co-ordination, through revealing how they see and use the community they live in.

71. The method can be quite simple. (It can occur independently of the critical path process, or as part of it. It could be a game at a Public Forum.) For materials, all that is required are large sheets of white paper, colored felt pens, large tables or a smooth wall or floor, and a tape-recorder. Time can be saved if the planners were to make a quick rough sketch of the main infrastructural elements of the community on the large sheets of white paper, the main roads and natural configurations, and one or two landmark buildings, so that participants can get their bearings. It is important however that if this is done, it should be the barest minimum. The more the participants have to draw themselves and the more they discuss what and why they are drawing, the better.

72. Of course not many people can work on a map at once. Depending on the size of each sheet, 4-8 people can map comfortably together. If, therefore, mapping should form part of a Public Forum, of, say, 80 people, it may be necessary to work in small groups in different rooms, and come together at the end to compare the maps which each group has made. In that case each group will need a technician to work with it and its own tape recorder (since mapping is also describing "what and why") in addition to its mapping materials.

73. This kind of mapping is a useful technique because it gives officials and technicians insights into how their constituents evaluate the community and the scales of importance they attach to various elements in it. And for the citizens, the maps become "discovery networks". They learn about the options and richness of co-ordination.

74. Several examples of this kind of mapping now exist (see paragraph 44 above). Ann Arbor, Michigan, is a university city. To an outsider it would seem that the university is an unparalleled resource to citizens and to the school system. The university dominates the city. With an enrollment of 25 000 students, and responsible for one-third of the city's economy and one-fifth of the city's real estate, it turned out that the university and the city were in fact two different and virtually autonomous systems, one inside the other, with little interrelation except friction. Mapping was an essential technique in achieving, for all concerned, an understanding of what resources in the university could be available to the citizens, and in return how the university could use the city's resources better and more sensitively. Most of all the rich potential of interrelating and co-ordinating university and school resources was revealed.(1)

75. Lowell, Massachusetts, is the oldest industrial city in the United States. It was built in the eighteenth century as a city of cotton mills. But over the years it became a ghost city. Today its huge mills stand empty beside unused canals and rusting waterwheels and other silent machinery. Mapping has enabled citizens and local government officials to see with new eyes the architectural beauty of the old red brick industrial buildings with their rusted remnants of great machines standing high in weeds, and the beauty of the engineering in the old locks and gates on canals in which the water had gone green with age. It also caught the eye of the government, which agreed to create in Lowell the country's first national park and open-air industrial museum based on urban history. Plans are presently being developed using the canals as an infrastructure of tree-shaded walkways and waterways for passenger boats, for linking historic buildings and places. But the citizens, less interested in the past than in the present, are using the same infrastructure to interrelate the city's many ethnic groups and neighborhoods, the Greeks, Irish and French Canadians, and to develop comprehensive strategies for neighborhood improvement. A non-profit agency, the Human Services Corporation, has been formed to turn Lowell's historic and ethnic heritages into new job and career opportunities, and one of its programs is to press for ethnic cultures and local industrial history to be included in school curricula.(2)

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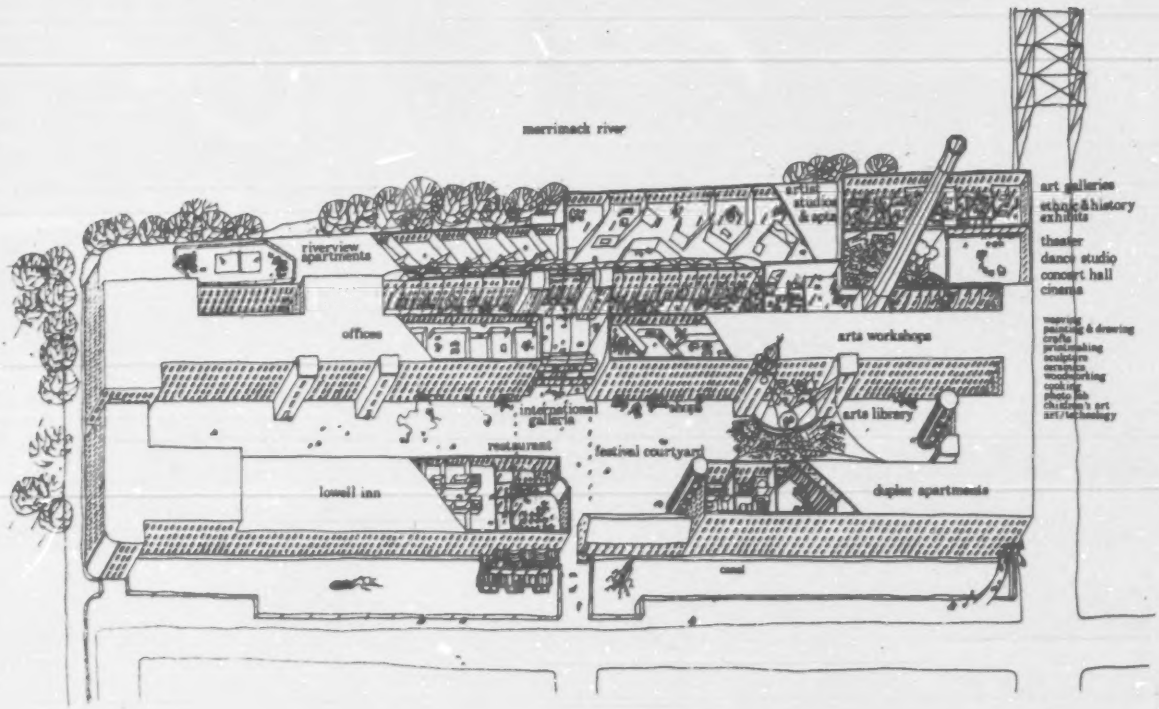
1) Urban Design Associates, Education Plan for Ann Arbor, Michigan, op.cit.

2) Michael and Susan Southworth, Lowell Discovery Network (1971), also Lowell Urban Park (1973-74), Human Services Corporation, Lowell, Mass.

RE-USE OF THE BOOTT MILL, LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS,
AS A COMMUNITY CULTURAL CENTER WITH HOUSING



Children Making Maps

76. Involving children in mapping provides somewhat different perceptions compared with the perceptions of adults. In Cincinnati, Ohio, children were unable to draw maps of the city streets in their community, but were able to draw intricate networks of the city's alleyways where they revealed a totally different world of resources, events, and "territorial rights" than the world known to adults.

77. In a very large school district in rural Pennsylvania the children of an urban school and the children of a rural school several miles away, independently mapped their communities. The parents got so interested that they organized visits to each other's communities. Optimizing on this experience, a new school for each of the communities is now being built as an interrelated pair, so that the parents and children of the two communities can continue their interrelationship through preparing

Urban Design Associates

Children mapping as part of planning sessions with children as clients in Pennsylvania

local resource materials to exchange with each other and through organizing interrelated events such as theater, picnics, and adult education.(1)

78. The map-making technique for the children in the above cases was the same as for the adults in the previous cases, i.e. white paper, felt pens, and tape recorders to record their comments. Once children know that adults are really interested in what they perceive and think, they are

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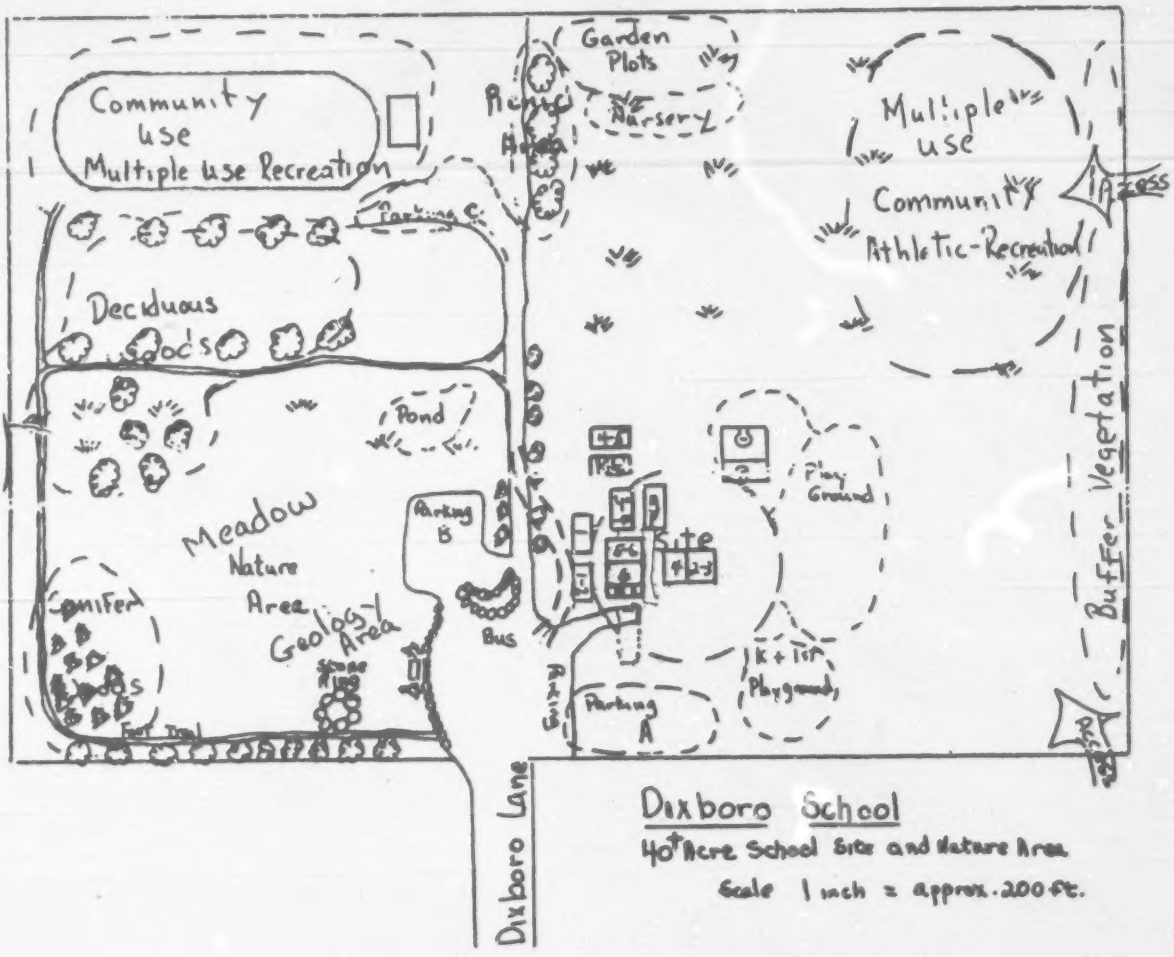
1) Urban Design Associates, Education and Physical Master Plan for the School District of DuBois, Pennsylvania, 1974.

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN
Children and parents prepare site map



likely to be somewhat freer than adults in expressing complex ideas in three dimensions using a variety of means from drawing to photography and videocameras. Videocameras have been used by children for mapping and environmental design with considerable success in England. Programs at the Elliot School, Putney, London, showed that the video literacy of 14 year-old children was richer and more imaginative than that of the professional adult television producer who worked on the same program. Simon Nicholson, in his article Children as Planners, tells us that "provided the camera is attached to a swivel and support (such as a supermarket trolley) anyone from about 2½ years old can generate television images for transmission", and he adds that "unlike written language, and in common with most visual communications, there is little vocabulary to learn to

become literate. Videoliteracy, like drawing with a pencil, is very natural to children.(1)

79. One reason why the perceptions of children tend to be richer and freer than adults and why they are able to communicate complex interrelationships of ideas in visual as well as literary form is that their lives and worlds are much less rigid. Adults tend to lose these capabilities because they are forced in our modern world to live within fixed and unilateral frameworks of time, environment, laws, codes of dress and behaviour, and so forth, which they have been taught to accept without question. But courses have been conducted recently by The Open University in Britain(2) in which people work at home, using their houses and neighborhoods as experimental workshops for at first discovering colors, textures, tastes, smells, and sounds, and then making constructs with them in words and drawings and music; and the results show that before long adults are able to be as rich and as free in communicating complex ideas as children.

80. "When someone tries simply to make small structures, solely to exhibit as fixed and finished products in a gallery or museum, the workshop (studio) is a very limited kind of place. Now that many people are becoming more aware of their total environment they are working creatively in a larger context, ranging from solving small problems (like making a drawing or cooking a meal) to city-size or regional problems (like developing an education/recreation system, or catalyzing social change, or starting communication networks). In the larger type of problems, the workshop extends out of one's apartment or house and into the community, housing, estate, street, city, farm or fields. It is important to realize that when one is involved in creating on such a large scale one's frame of mind is that society is the workshop: one is <u>living</u> art, and one's self is part of that process."(3)

<u>Store-Front Design Centers</u>

81. A less formal way of involving citizens and officials in planning and design is simply to open up a design center in the community and allow

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1) Simon Nicholson, <u>Children as Planners</u>, <u>op.cit</u>.

2) David Stea, <u>Environmental Mapping</u>, a course for adults and children in mapping physical environments, mapping time/space (viz. a journey), mapping perceptions, etc., prepared for Art and Environment, The Open University, England, 1976.

3) David Stea, <u>ibidem</u>.

citizens to walk in off the street at any time during working hours and look at what is going on, ask questions, and even assume a task. In the United States this technique has produced notable results. One of the earliest design workshops opened in the Watts area of Los Angeles after the racial riots in the mid-1960's. Perhaps the most successful recent examples have resulted in the construction of the Middle School at East Orange, New Jersey, and the HUB multi-service Community Center in Cincinnati, Ohio.

82. Essentially what happens is this:

- the Center is opened with an exhibition of data-base materials and an inventory of goals including a public department's statement of its own goals (e.g. a Board of Education says that it wants to build a school which is responsive to the wishes and needs of parents and students, and it wants to find out what these are;
- the technical staff visits community organizations (church groups, cultural or arts societies, youth associations, etc.) with a slide show illustrating issues and opportunities; the organizations are encouraged to meet each other and officials formally in the Design Center;
- citizens begin to visit the Design Center informally and are drawn into interviews, much in the way "perceptions" are gathered in the Critical Path method;
- those citizens who express interest in particular facets of the problem are invited to join the formal meetings whose agendas include those concerns;
- task forces are developed to address clusters of issues, and appropriate public officials are invited to participate;
- co-ordinated programming begins, and with it the co-ordinated inter-sectoral planning also begins.

83. The Middle School at East Orange, New Jersey offers a good case study of the process. East Orange was, in 1970, a city undergoing rapid social change. Demographically it was about 50/50 black/white. But the black population was relatively new and young, and unlike other northern industrial cities it was middle-class and prosperous, immigrating to East Orange from socially troubled cities such as Newark and Philadelphia. In contrast the white population in East Orange was residual and ageing. As a result the schools are 90 per cent black and do not reflect the city's racial composition or its longer traditions.

84. The Design Center was opened so that the designers could understand more clearly and intimately what these changes mean for education. Jules Gregory wanted to design a school which would encourage children to grow with confidence, and which would provide them with skills appropriate to their talents and aspirations. He therefore wanted to design learning environments which would be capable of responding to each individual's own style and needs, interests and pace. And the only way of doing that was to get to know his constituents intimately. Not only did he get to know them intimately, they became his partners in design.

85. The Design Center opened in August 1970 with a public celebration. The street was closed and the Mayor of East Orange cut the ribbon. An architectural student from the University of North Carolina, Larry Goldblatt, became the Design Center's director on a full-time basis throughout the project's planning stages. The Design Center was officially open from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. every day, but many days included evening and night sessions as well.

86. The objectives of the Design Center, as stated by Jules Gregory that summer 1970 were:

- to draw people into the design process and make them equal partners;
- to overcome the lack of constructive focus and act as a catalyst for community vitality;
- to help people understand each other through involvement;
- to stimulate and cross-fertilize ideas;
- to identify community hopes and ideals, and measure them against the realities of economic and technical constraints;
- to assure that the physical needs of the children and adults of East Orange will be met.

87. To get the process going, the Uniplan team identified some thirty community organizations, and two or three evenings of every week were dedicated to meeting with them in the Center, using drawings and slide presentations and other techniques as a means of developing ideas and commitment. The children from the East Orange schools were asked to express in drawings what a school should be; and as ideas were developed and inventories and drawings emerged, they were pinned up in the Design Center as a perpetually changing and evolving workshop.

88. The Center's open door soon attracted the collaboration of the community, particularly young people, whose inputs were creative and influential in spite of the fact that none of them had any prior training in

design. Two young people from the community in particular, Stefanie Wilson and Larry Goldstone, organized others to work in teams. Stefanie, who was 20 years old, became the Center's assistant director, and made a human resources map showing where everyone lived and what their interests, needs and goals were; and Larry, who was 15 years old at the time, orchestrated his friends in documenting the whole neighborhood and making a scale model out of cardboard. As more and more materials from the community became available, the architects began to dialogue with the perceptions of their constituents, and the dialogue began to express itself first in diagrams and then in conceptual design drawings. They found to their astonishment that "if you talk from the depth and the heart of your mind", complex and abstract planning and architectural ideas will be comprehended by ordinary people, and rich and valuable dialogue will ensue.

> "With all the complexity implied by its participatory aspects, the process is difficult to condense into outline form. It can, however be broken into several phases which, except for all of those inputs, are similar to traditional design methods.
>
> "The first phase was the introductory and evaluative phase, both for the architects and the community. This phase produced the impressions, the views and counterviews and, finally, the credibility needed to go on.
>
> "Phase two was a period for the expression of abstract thoughts about the needs (program), the goals (aspirations), the situation (constraints) and the implications (directions) of building functions. Pieces of the program were explored and community hopes and ideals were measured against economic, legal and technical constraints. Since the gym, pool, library, auditorium and medical services were seen as joint-use facilities for school and community, more interest was generated in their solution. Students and community members made signs, built study models and generally expressed themselves.
>
> "Phases three and four produced seven study schemes, and a final scheme, respectively. As in the previous phases, ideas proposed by a housewife, a student, the cop on the beat or that nice little old lady were investigated while they looked on. This gave each the opportunity to see how architects work and to instantly understand the drawbacks and/or merits of their contribution."(1)

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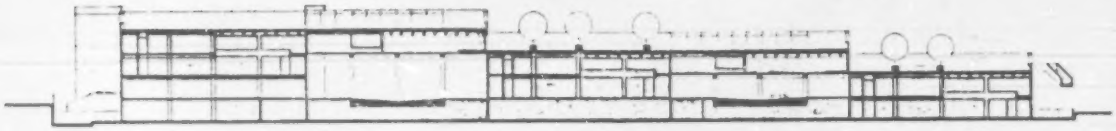
1) James Murphy, "By the People", an account of the design process for the East Orange Middle School, Progressive Architecture, February 1972, pp. 85-95; also James Murphy, "A Second Look", Progressive Architecture, December 1976, pages 56-59.

THIS DESIGN FOR THE MIDDLE SCHOOL AT EAST ORANGE, NEW JERSEY

A direct product of the storefront design center described here



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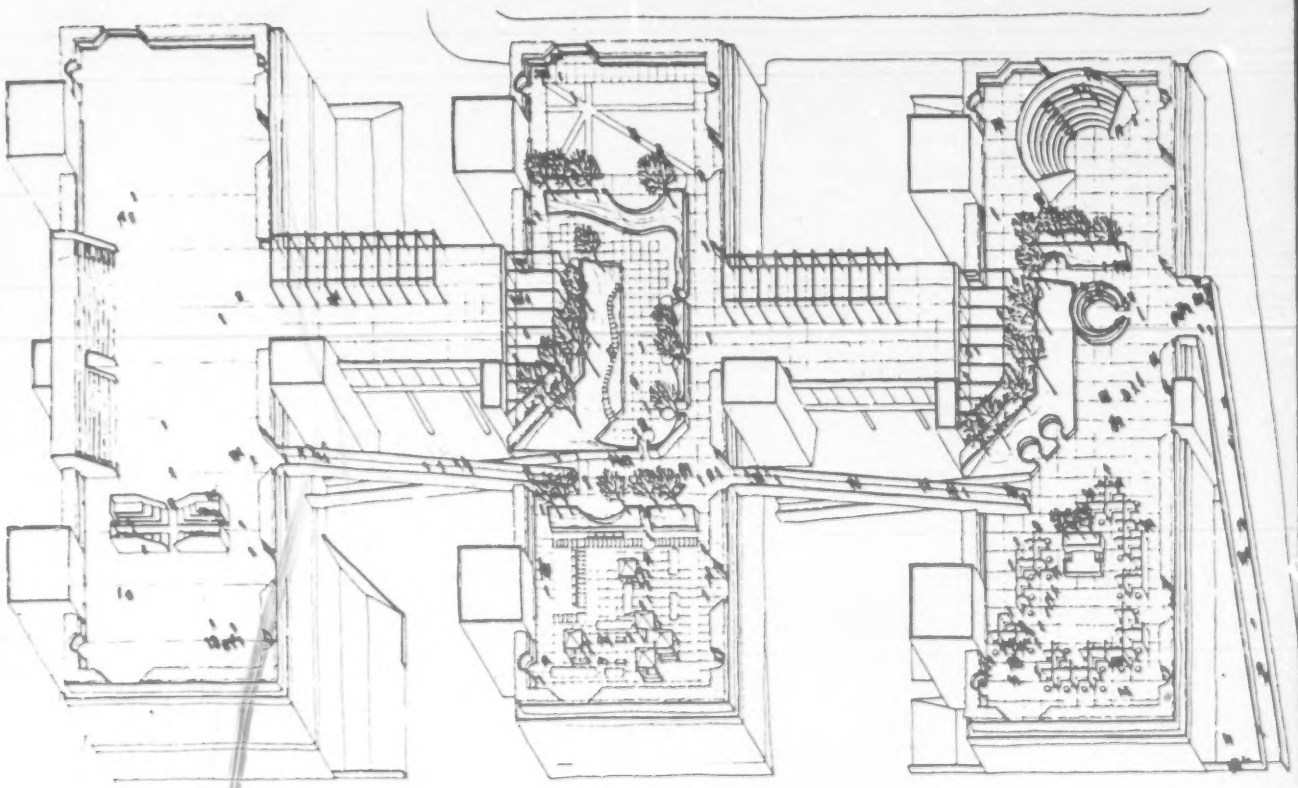

89. Gradually a design for the building emerged. East Orange is a compact community. Large sites can only be assembled through relocating families and demolishing their homes. It would clearly have been antithetic to the process to contemplate doing this. The site for the new school was therefore restricted to less than four acres in a residential area of frame houses and apartment blocks; and this is clearly a very small site for a school with a capacity of 1 800 pupils, aged 12-14. To complicate matters, participants in the design process, as already mentioned, called for the gym, pool, library, auditorium and health services to be open to the community.

90. The final building, which opened in January 1975, is in the form of three blocks interconnected by an internal "street". Each block contains a "house", with a two-storey performing arts area in the center surrounded, on the lower floor, by related spaces such as music, speech, family arts and shop, and on the upper floor by specialized learning areas.

91. The roof is a community park reached by public ramps for access when the school is closed. There is a community entrance to the gym, pool and library. Dining spaces bridge the three wings and open onto the roofs for school or community use. Elevators interconnect every floor. Ramps to the rooftops and elevator service provide a multiple mode of access. There is at least one entrance to each one of the three separate houses that has a step-free access from the exterior to the lobby spaces or offices.

92. The planning process which resulted in the HUB Community Center being built was similar to East Orange, though there was no direct communication between Jules Gregory and Evans Woollen, the HUB's architect. Also in 1970, Evans Woollen opened a Design Center in a vacant shop. The location of the shop could hardly have been better. It was opposite the market house in the center of the Over-the-Rhine, a densely urban community in the heart of Cincinnati. In the storefront Evans Woollen put his team of young architects and invited the collaboration of the students from the city planning programme of the University of Cincinnati. Very shortly a similar process to East Orange occurred, resulting in the HUB multi-service center, including indoor recreation (gymnasium, swimming), adult education, library, medical services, legal services, employment and career counseling, and a post office.(1)

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1) Charles Moore and Gerald Allen, "Modesty: If it's not the end, it's certainly the beginning", Dimensions, McGraw Hill, New York, 1976, pages 157-166.

Design Centers plus Television

93. During the past year an interesting planning process took place in Dayton, Ohio. The project was the design of the riverbanks in the city, including parks, marinas, landscaped walkways, housing, restaurants, and a school. The architect, Charles Moore, opened a storefront Design Center along the same lines as East Orange and the HUB. But in order to appeal to the widest possible audience (since the project had metropolitan significance as well as a neighborhood scale), Charles Moore decided to do a series of television programs using the cultural education network.

94. In these television programmes he outlined the planning and design issues, and designed and drew as he talked. Discussions with officials and technical experts were held in front of the cameras. Viewers were invited to telephone questions and recommendations. Quickly each program becmme a metropolitan-wide debate between the designer and his official and citizen constituents. And audiences were invited to the storefront Design Center to continue the dialogues and participate in the work - which hundreds of people did.(1) The designs are now being implemented.

"Charettes"

95. An alternative to the open storefront approach adopted by Uniplan in East Orange, and the series of public forums which formed the Pontiac process, is the so-called "charette" process. Charettes have been attempted in a number of situations in the United States.

96. Charette is a term borrowed from architectural usage. Originally this French word referred to the cart which was wheeled through the beaux-arts studios of nineteenth and early twentieth century architectural schools to collect the students' projects prior to jurying; and the term came to signify working under enormous pressure to complete drawings by a deadline.

97. The charette process was initiated in 1968 by Walter Mylecraine, Assistant Commissioner for Construction Services in the U.S. Office of Education. Essentially the process advocated by Mylecraine was that architects, rather than spending their entire planning time isolated from the client (which in the largest sense could be the whole community), should immerse themselves for a specific length of time with consultants

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1) "Riverdesign", Progressive Architecture, January 1977, pages 84-85.

and representatives of the community, and be directed to hammer out a design concept within that time-frame.(1)

98. To illustrate a charette process it might be best to follow a brief case history of what happened in Baltimore, and how the new Dunbar High School got built. The situation in Baltimore in 1968, like Pontiac in 1967, was one of conflict and strife. The existing Paul Laurence Dunbar High School was 54 years old. Overcrowded, and overwhelmingly black - it had 4 000 students in spite of its 1 800 capacity - the school had become the symbol of the blight, the racial segregation and the despair of the neighborhoods it served. Its adjacency to Johns Hopkins University only emphasized the conflict. The university, like the university in Ann Arbor, was introverted, white, upper-income, and insensitive to the community.

99. Following protests, the Board and the City promised a new school. The Baltimore Planning Commission recommended a structure to accommodate 2 000 pupils, plus a small city health center, an indoor recreation center, and an elementary school. To show good faith, an architectural firm was placed under contract.

100. But the community was not satisfied. There was little in these promises to reassure them that they would be allowed to make inputs into the programme and design of the school as it went along. Indeed the community had good reason to fear that the building would be designed "in absentia" just as schools always had been, and would thus be as insensitive to the community's special needs and aspirations as schools had been in the past. Walter Mylecraine heard about the problem and offered to sponsor a charette process with government funds, on the understanding that all parties would agree to participate and also on the understanding that the process would be conducted within a strict time-frame of 14 days.

101. The night the charette began the auditorium in the old Dunbar High School was packed with community people. The process was open. Anyone could come. To dialogue with the community on the issues, Mylecraine assembled experts in every facet of school planning and construction from all parts of the United States. He also brought architects, and students from three architectural schools, and of course the Baltimore architects who were under contract for the new school, to translate the findings of the charette into diagrams and designs. In addition he brought Baltimore's

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1) Sherwood D. Kohn, Experiment in Planning an Urban High School: The Baltimore Charette, a report from Educational Facilities Laboratories, New York, November 1969.

official planners and education administrators; there were representatives of a variety of public agencies such as health, library services, parks and recreation, traffic and so forth; and then he saw to it that politicians such as council members also attended.

102. The following were the phases of the 14-day charette:

I. Orientation. Greetings. A walk through the neighborhoods. Analysis of old Dunbar. Analysis of city plans and programs for the area. Demographic analysis. Analysis of official school plans and programs for Baltimore and the role of Dunbar. All in plenary sessions. (2 days)

II. Task Forces in a number of subject areas, viz, curricula, remedial education, recreation, library services, etc. Each task force had its own consultants, officials and students who remained constant, but the community rotated, spending ½-a-day in each task force. (2 days)

III. Interrelationship of Task Forces. On a rotating basis, task forces discussed their interrelationships. (2 days)

During II and III new concerns, not traditionally related to education, emerged such as employment and careers, housing, health, a creative arts center, etc.

IV. Re-evaluation and first attempts at program. (1 day)

At this point, after 7 days, one day off was taken.

V. First Graphics. Bubble diagrams to illustrate inventories, interrelationships and sizes of various kinds of space. First attempts to set out uses, spaces and interrelationships on the site. (1 day)

VI. Alternative architectural proposals. Architects develop a series of broad brush sketch designs and planning studies in 3-dimensions. (2 days)

At the end of the second day of this phase a large Town meeting of everyone was held to evaluate these preliminary alternatives.

VII. Studies in precise proposals, specifications, financing multi-usage, etc., by the architects, with specific inputs from officials and citizens. (1 day)

VIII. Development of final designs, and the community's recommendations to the City and the Board of Education. (1 day)

IX. Final Town Meeting. The following is a summary of the recommendations:

a) Educational program and facility development would begin by providing special advantages for children deprived by their circumstances and environments of the opportunity for a good education. In order to recognize mental and emotional handicaps at an early age, Baltimore service experts should develop comprehensive profiles of all children. The new Dunbar should emphasize comprehensive, rather than vocational education. A junior college should be established in East Baltimore.

b) Economic development would be aided by the organization of a community development corporation.

c) A system of co-ordinated, comprehensive housing development must be instituted in the community. Dislocation of inner city residents should be minimized. Existing housing codes must be more rigidly enforced in order to improve public and private housing.

d) Political development would be furthered by waging a pervasive campaign in the Second Ward to education and register voters and develop a sense of political potency. The Dunbar High School Community Council should carry on the spirit of community involvement aroused by the charette.

e) Transportation can be developed by moderating the traffic flow through East Baltimore, up-dating traffic signals, speeding up the traffic flow on major arteries, controlling pedestrian crossings, creating specialized streets, and making buses safer.

f) Recreation and park development would include a stadium and field house, swimming pools, skating rinks, bowling alleys, inner-block and other forms of parks throughout the area, various kinds of playgrounds, tennis courts, community parks, and broader summer recreation programs.

g) Cultural development would involve integration of public school library facilities in the Dunbar complex.

h) Communications could be developed by founding a community newspaper, financed by business or the community development corporation. Television and radio facilities might be incorporated into the new Dunbar complex.

i) In considering site development, the most controversial discussion area, the group proposed taking an option on the plot of land to

the northwest, bounded by Edythe, Monument, Madison, Aisquith, and Central Avenues.(1)

103. The U.S. Office of Education conducted charettes between 1968 and 1970 in several cities and rural areas. The Baltimore Charette was by far its most ambitious and successful. As time went on, changes in program at the national level and the U.S. financial recession caused the inevitable compromises. These same negative forces also killed the charette program in 1971. Nevertheless, the new Dunbar High School was built and many of the recommendations of the charette in both form and content survived in the final design.

R/UDAT

104. A program with some features in common with the charette process has been developed by the American Institute of Architects. It is called Regional/Urban Design Assistance Teams, or R/UDAT's. For some ten years the AIA has been sending assistance teams to communities which have called for help.(2) Processes of the kind described below have now been held in more than 40 large cities, small towns and rural communities throughout the United States.

105. Usually a team of eight nationally renowned professionals will be assembled to form a R/UDAT. A typical team will be composed of four architects, a planner, an economist, a lawyer, and a sociologist. However the composition of the teams varies according to the problems and needs of each community.

106. A R/UDAT program lasts four days, as follows:

I. First day. Morning: briefing by officials. Afternoon: meetings with community organizations and citizens. Evening: visits to the site.

II. Second day. Morning: each team member will do individual research, or meet with selected officials and/or citizens to obtain data in greater depth. Afternoon: site visits and group meetings. Evening: team meets and discusses findings and recommendations.

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1) Sherwood D. Kohn, op.cit.

2) R/UDAT, Regional/Urban Design Assistance Teams, a program of The American Institute of Architects, Washington, D.C., August 1976.

III. Third day. Team executes design recommendations and writes its report. (Usually this is a 25-hour day.)

IV. Fourth day. Report is printed. Team rests until afternoon. Press and T.V. Evening: Public meeting for presentation of report and recommendations to citizens and council.

107. The strategy of the R/UDAT program is not to solve problems (although it has been successful in this regard), but to get citizens and officials to face problems simultaneously and together. R/UDAT is not offered as "a panacea for all conflicts and crises, but it does provide an opportunity to review urban problems with a group of people who have dealt with similar problems before, and who are willing to share the benefits of their experience and skills with others".(1)

Networks of Urban Alternatives

108. All of these techniques are concerned with the co-ordination of facilities and human services, based on the needs which the users themselves help to establish. Two kinds of co-ordination emerge. One occurs within a Center. At the Center a number of facilities, historically separate, are concentrated for reasons of economy and usage. Policies of interrelation within the Center are established, allowing new options in programming to permutate. The Center is in the focus of access routes, bringing people from all parts of the community, all walks of life, all age-groups and interests, to it. It is a confluence.

109. But co-ordination can occur radially in the form of a network also. The new Center, while co-ordinating the facilities within it, can also act as the catalyst for co-ordinating facilities which already exist in the community and which it would be wasteful to replicate. The second kind of co-ordination to emerge is therefore a comprehensive and programmed network of linkages interrelating facilities in the community.

110. This network of linkages could occur as radials focussing on a new Center. This is the Pontiac model. Or it could occur as a network interrelating only existing facilities, without in fact building anything new at all. This is the Southeast Alternatives model in Minneapolis, United States.

111. The Southeast Alternatives involves five schools in the southeast quadrant of the city. Taken all together, the "service area" covered by

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1) R/UDAT, op.cit.

these schools covers not only several square miles of city, but considerable urban variety and complexity. Each of its five schools offers a different kind of education to its children. One is a traditional classroom school. Another is organized as a "team teaching" school. A third is based on a "vertical" structure, that is to say children of all ages, younger and older, are in the same group so that the older children learn by teaching the younger ones and the younger ones learn from their peers as well as from the teachers. Another school uses the community as a learning laboratory, and so forth. Parents who live in the quadrant as a whole can choose any one of the five schools they would like to send their children to, on an "open-enrollement, first-come first-served" basis.(1)

112. Minneapolis has recognized that in the social complexity of the modern city, children learn in different ways and at different rates, and this has led to a programme which offers as wide a range of choices as possible to parents, children and teachers. Counselors and teachers therefore help parents to choose which school and programme is best for their children. Minneapolis has also learned that parents enjoy being directly involved in school matters, and that they represent valuable resources for the five schools.

113. To keep everyone informed of everything that is going on, a newspaper is written and published jointly by the people in the community and the children. Illustrated with drawings, photographs and maps, it includes creative writing, features on city and neighborhood festivals, news, reports on cultural events in music, the arts, and drama, and it includes articles on matters of educational and cultural policy. This is only a short step from community television programs involving children as well as adults, produced and performed by the people of the neighborhoods with expert technical assistance as required.

Governance

114. Continuity and change are among the most important aspects of coordination. It is one thing to interrelate programs, whether the focus is in a central facility or in a network of interrelated facilities throughout the community. It is quite another to set up new administrations for interrelationship, new methods of monitoring performance to ensure that

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1) Southeast Alternatives (Turtle Contemporary School, Southeast Free School, Marcy Open School, Pratt Continuous Progress School, Marshall-University High School), director Dr. James K. Kent, Minneapolis Public Schools, 1974.

user/needs are being properly met, and methods of financing that can be responsive to change as needs change or new opportunities open up.

115. Most of the case histories of the projects discussed in this paper and in the papers by Margrit Kennedy and T. Malan cited in paragraph 2 above, have involved intensive user and citizen participation in planning and design. In many of these projects, users have requested continuing roles in the performance of the programs, and also in administration. The form of user-citizen participation in governance varies considerably on a project-to-project basis. In many situations, citizens have been invited to work with officials in the design of appropriate administrative forms in much the way that they participated together in facility design and in the design of networks.

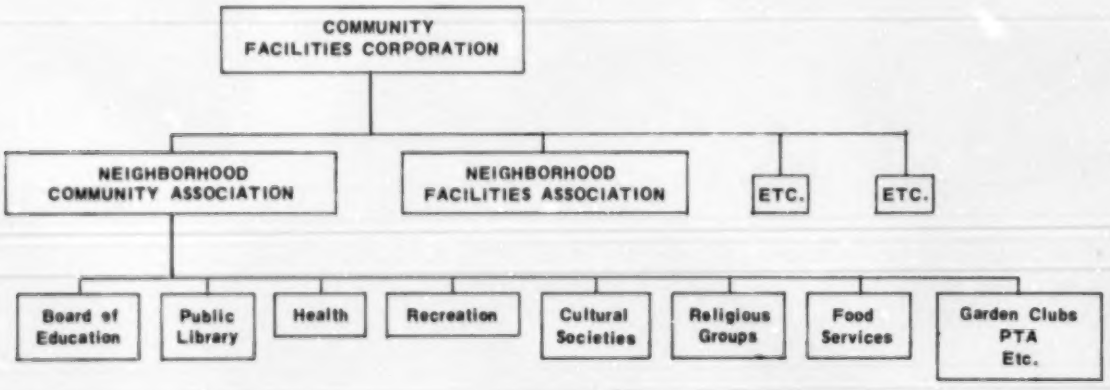
116. In the Human Resources Center, Pontiac, Michigan, the building itself is owned by the Board of Education. However the Center is, to all practical purposes, independent of the Board. It has its own administration, budgets, executive director and staffs. Its Board of Directors is composed of citizens (50 per cent) and representatives of the many public departments, service agencies and cultural groups which occupy the Center (50 per cent). Many of the citizens are people who participated in the planning and design process.

117. The various public departments, service agencies and cultural groups in the Center are permitted to occupy space on a full-time or shared basis, rent-free. Their budgets are used only for the operation of their programs and services. However, all users are on a year-by-year basis. The quality of their performance and the appropriateness of their programs are monitored by the Board of Directors of the Center, and by its sub-committees appointed for this task. If their programs or performance are found to be deficient, they are asked to modify them. In cases of non-compliance, or if the need for their services has been fulfilled, they are asked to vacate their space in preference for another programme considered to be more needed.

118. In the Minneapolis Southeast Alternatives program the five schools have a decentralized Administration under the aegis of the central Board of Education. Parents have a 50/50 representation with the school staffs in this decentral administration.

119. In the Queensgate II Town Center, Cincinnati, the citizens who have worked with the planners, architects and officials on this large multi-usage project are now forming their own non-profit development corporation so that they can build, own, and administer facilities such as the Community Museum and Arts Center. Funding will come from City and Federal sources on low-interest loan.

First Neighborhood Center, Gananda New Town, New York. Citizens and representatives of public agencies in programming session.



First Neighborhood Center, Ganada New Town, New York. Diagram showing how the citizens planned to own each additional neighborhood center (as the new town grows) and sub-lease facilities in it.

120. Perhaps the most radically new form of governance was that proposed for the multi-usage Neighborhood Center in Gananda New Town, in the State of New York. The new town was designed as a series of 17 neighborhoods, each to have approximately 1 500 - 2 000 families (or 5 000 people). The Neighborhood Center which was built as a result of the games described in paragraph 65 was therefore the first of a series of 17 such Centers. The citizens and officials who participated in the games formed a sub-committee to design the governance of the Neighborhood Center, with the idea that it would be the prototype for the administration of all 17 Centers. The following was their recommendation:

a) The development corporation which is building the new town would build the Neighborhood Centers.

b) As each Center is completed, it would be mortgaged from the developer by a Neighborhood Facilities Corporation. This Neighborhood Facilities Corporation would thus own all 17 Centers throughout the new town, and the mortgages for each Center would be paid off by the Corporation over a forty year period.

c) Each neighborhood (1 500 - 2 000 families) would form its Neighborhood Association. The Association would rent the Neighborhood Center in its own neighborhood from the central Neighborhood Facilities Corporation. The Association would be a citizen group.

d) The Association would in turn sub-lease space in its building to the various cultural groups or public departments using it. These would include the public library, the schools, adult education, health services, drama and other arts groups, etc. Spaces for these activities would be on a time/space basis, scheduled by arrangement with the Neighborhood Association. Their rentals would in turn pay for the lease of the building as a whole and its administration. Thus the control of the Center and responsibility for its upkeep would be in the hands of the residents.

Part Three

CONCLUSIONS

121. What emerges from all this can be summed up fairly succinctly. Traditionally public services such as education, recreation, health and so forth have been delivered by separate bureaucracies set up specifically for the purpose.

122. Each bureaucracy has its own administration, budgets, specialist personnel, policies and facilities. Cities and neighborhoods in every country are dotted with public buildings which typically have only one specialist use: schools, libraries, health centers, etc. Very often these services have developed their own architectural styles over the years, so that it is possible, when we visit a city for the first time, to tell from the appearance of the buildings which ones are schools, or hospitals, or libraries.

123. In recent years this traditional method of delivering services has been forced to undergo change. Bureaucratic autonomy has led to wasteful and inefficient duplications in administration, personnel, supplies and in the use of physical space; and it has been found that when the hitherto separate bureaucracies undergo a systematic analysis of their overlaps and learn to co-ordinate their services, far more efficient forms of administration emerge. Rational though the above may be, co-ordination is often far from simple. Time-honoured administrations are not easy to transform; and the re-design of physical facilities from single usage to joint usage centers takes time and capital budgets.

124. In several countries this trend toward inter-sectoral efficiency and co-ordination is taking place in "crisis" conditions. The crisis is impelled by a parallel phenomenon in many countries, frequently called "the citizens' movement". Actually the phrase is not apt. The citizens' movement is not a movement at all in any organized or political sense. There is, however, in almost every country in the world a growing and spontaneous concern among citizens to be directly and responsibly involved in decisions which traditionally have been made by bureaucrats without citizen consultation.

125. The reasons for this growing concern on the part of citizens are complex. This paper has mentioned a few of them in generalized terms. In brief there is a reaction against the middle class and universal sameness and anonymity which accompanies technocracy.

126. The characteristics of dissent are widespread and indisputable. In developing nations as in the highly industrialized countries, citizens are identifying themselves with communities. In some cases these communities are geographic. (I live in such and such a place, and our neighborhood has distinct and recognizable characteristics.) In other cases, people form a cluster or community of concern around certain issues. (I want better education for my children so I have jointed a vigorous group of concerned parents.) In either case strong local characteristics emerge, identities of language, environment, culture, and hmman skills and resources.

127. The coincidence of these two major trends - increasing co-ordination among bureaucracies, and citizen dissent - provides unique and unparalleled opportunities for administrators and their citizen-constituents to come together and solve mutual problems in joint action.

128. Although all of the examples in this paper have been drawn from the United States, their basic characteristics are widely shared. The Southeast Alternatives model in Minneapolis, for example, is an obvious prototype, not simply for the United States but for cities in several countries, of how citizens and public bureaucracies can work together to develop a network of community resources, and co-ordinate them administratively in terms of a series of dynamic programs. Similarly the inter-sectoral and community processes which occurred in Pontiac or in East Orange could take place in most countries and situations in which capital construction is programmed. The Pontiac model shows that even in a community torn by violence it is possible to gather citizens and various bureaucracies together in a single process, and develop programs and plans in a climate of mutually agreed goals and mechanisms.

129. There are two principal keys to processes in which citizens and public bureaucracies work together towards mutual goals:

- the inclusion of citizens should begin right at the very beginning of the project; it should be open and without "hidden agendas" (if the citizens sense that they are being "manipulated" by the public sector, the loss of confidence that results will cripple the process); and the citizens should perceive that their inputs are being listened to and carry real weight in the outcome;

- there must be recognizable accountability for all concerned, and products and achievements within acceptable time frames.

130. As we have said, public services have been delivered traditionally by autonomous and specialist bureaucracies. When a physical facility was required, a programme and a specification were written by the administrator together with a budget, and these were delivered to an architect to be turned into a building. The new process is entirely different.

131. In the new process citizens, administrators, architects and other specialist personnel enter together, at the very beginning, an open-ended and exploratory situation. As the discussions move forward the architect sketches alternatives, revealing to the group the interrelationship of this recommendation and that recommendation to the other variables in the on-going design, until gradually a definition of programs, physical form and administrative form begins to emerge and become concrete.

132. In several of the examples in this paper the products of the processes discussed are new joint-usage centers. This is almost inevitable. In the first place there is the drive on the part of bureaucracies for inter-sectoral co-ordination. In the second place, citizens do not perceive their needs from the same viewpoint as administrators. Administrators are prone to see programs in terms of budgets, personnel, equipment, regulations and so forth. Citizens, on the other hand, perceive their needs holistically. They are able to define those interrelationships of a perceived need to the wholeness (or "quality") of their daily lives, and the goals they have formed for the quality of their future, which are at the very essence of joint-usage centers. In fact, if the staffs of bureaucracies are specialists in discreet elements of program one can equally say that the citizen-consumer is a specialist in holistic interrelationships.

133. The number of new joint-usage centers in various countries in the world has grown dramatically during the past five years. Some of these have been influenced by the United States examples, not only in process and program but also in form. The design of the new Mummelsmannsberg Center in Hamburg, West Germany, for example bears distinct resemblances to Pontiac's Human Resources Center, although the Mummelsmannsberg Center is somewhat bigger. And as this paper has shown, in the United States examples the citizens not only have participated in the program and design of the new joint centers, but have continued to be involved in the subsequent administration of the centers, so that creative citizen input continues into their day-to-day operation and accountability.

134. But a new building (or even a building at all) is not always a requisite. In fact a new building can sometimes inhibit the continuing input of citizens simply by making the people who use it self-conscious about modifying or adding to or doing new and innovative things in something so new.

135. The most important achievement of all is that the consumers have been included in such a way that their local identity and sense of citizenship have been reinforced.

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